ZIONISM IN ZION: SALT LAKE CITY'S JEWISH COMMUNITY AND ISRAEL, 1933-1967

by

Rebecca Kaye Andersen

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
The University of Utah
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of History

The University of Utah

August, 2008

THE UNIVERSITY OF UTAH GRADUATE SCHOOL

SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE APPROVAL

of a thesis submitted by

Rebecca Andersen

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04/29/08

Chair: Edward Davies

Ronald Smelser

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Edward Davies
Chair: Supervisory Committee

Approved for the Major Department

Eric Hinderaker
Chair/Dean

Approved for the Graduate Council

David S. Chapman
Dean of The Graduate School

ABSTRACT

"Zionism in Zion: Salt Lake City's Jewish Community and Israel, 1933-1967" seeks to understand how Zionism and the creation of the state of Israel affected a Jewish community in the western United States. It will be argued that the Salt Lake City Jewish community followed national trends in their interest in and formation of Zionist organizations and that Zionist activity was shaped by religious and other influential community leaders. "Zionism in Zion" also touches upon the unique connection between Jews and Mormons. The thesis is organized into four chapters: a historical description of the Jewish community's origins and growth, principle leaders of Salt Lake Zionism, Salt Lake Hadassah chapter activities, and the impact of visiting Zionist speakers and other community activities. The conclusion seeks to place the Zionist movement within a global context. Source material is located primarily at the University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, specifically the Jewish Archives, and the Louis C. Zucker and Benjamin M. Roe papers. Monthly Hadassah minutes are in the possession of Karen McArthur and Helene Cuomo. During the years in consideration, regional, national and international Zionist leaders visiting Salt Lake City received substantial press coverage. In addition, interviews with Fred Tannenbaum, Joel Shapiro, and Esther Landa were especially useful.

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INTRODUCTION

EUROPEAN, AMERICAN, AND SALT LAKE CITY ZIONISM

On July 6, 1946, Leon Watters of New York City contributed $1,000 to the United Jewish Appeal (UJA). Along with his check, Watters included a note to Rabbi Jonah B. Wise explaining why he could no longer support future drives: the UJA furthered the creation of a Jewish state, a political cause for which he was not only unsympathetic but felt "a genuine revulsion." "I am led to enclose the accompanying check only as evidence of my personal friendship for you," he concluded. Watters clearly distinguished between philanthropy, the helping of fellow Jews, and the aims and goals of political Zionism. Whatever his reasoning, he found the latter completely unacceptable.[1]

Chameleon-like, Zionism is a term, idea, and movement with layers of meaning and usage. In their attempts to define Zionism, most refer to the 1897 Basel Program.[2] Under the leadership of Theodore Herzl, the first Zionist Congress outlined a set of four basic premises guiding their movement. "Zionism seeks to establish a home for the

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[1] Leon J. Watters, New York, to Rabbi Jonah B. Wise, 6 May, 1946, University of Utah, Marriott Library Special Collections, Leon J. Watters Collection Mic. Reel 1, 1885-1963.

[2] Earl D. Huff, "A Study of a Successful Interest Group: The American Zionist Movement," *The Western Political Quarterly,* (March 1972): 109; Samuel Halperin, *The Political World of American Zionism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1961), 7; Alain Dieckhoff, *The Invention of a Nation: Zionist Thought and the Making of Modern Israel,* trans. Jonathan Derrick (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 4, 8; Naomi W. Cohen, *The Americanization of Zionism* (Lebanon, New Hampshire: Brandeis University Press, 2003), 3.

Jewish people in Palestine secured under public law," the opening line read; Jews were to settle Palestine, organize, strengthen "Jewish national sentiment and national consciousness," and gain "the consent of governments...in order to reach the goal of Zionism."[3]Those who supported the Basel Program are often termed Zionists.[4] This definition fails to examine the historical contexts from which the movement grew and account for the differences between European and American Zionism.

Zion, the root for Zionism, is packed with historical and cultural meaning. Synonymous for Jerusalem, following the First Temple period, Zion came to connote Jewish longing for the homeland and found place within prayers and liturgy.[5] According to Martin Buber, the "Zion concept" signified a "national concept...named after a place," indicating "not so much a question of a particular people...but of its association with a particular land." Buber adds that Zion signified a holy association between land and people, a union joined by God. Without the other, neither land nor people could "achieve fullness of life."[6] Kept alive in prayer and religious customs, even in diasporic exile, the union between people and land never completely vanished. Ultimately, under the Messiah's reign, Jews would again regain and inhabit Eretz Yisrael.[7]

Building upon the earlier Zion-tradition, the term Zionism was first used by Nathan Brinbaum in his April 1, 1890 edition of *Selbstemanzipation* Brinbaum advocated a shift away from philanthropy, pushing instead for a politically oriented party whose

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[3] Quoted in *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* s.v. "Basle Program," by Aharon Zwergbaum, 306.

[4]Huff, "Successful Interest Group," 109.

[5]*Encyclopaedia Judaica,* s.v. "Zionism," by Getzel Kressel, 1032.

[6]Martin Buber, *On Zion: The History of an Idea* trans. Stanley Godman (London: Horovitz Publishing Co., Ltd, 1973), xvii-xx.

[7]Naomi Cohen, *The Americanization of Zionism,* 2.

goal would be the resettlement of Jews in Palestine.[8] Thus, in its modern usage, Zionism reflects the secular, political attitudes and ideology common to other nationalist movements of nineteenth century Europe. "Modern nationalists looked for neither divine intervention nor a personal messiah to lead them back to Palestine," Naomi Cohen points out, linking the development of Zionist ideology with the failure of liberalism and integral nationalism.[9] In fact, Zionism can be viewed as a thermometer measuring nationalism's victory over liberalism. The extent to which individual Jews allied themselves politically and socially along nationalistic or liberalistic lines serves as powerful indicators for ethnic identity.

During the nineteenth century, many Western European Jews embraced liberalism; with the emancipation of German Jews in 1871, it seemed the cause of liberalism would triumph. Numerous Jews linked their identity with that of the country in which they resided and placed their trust in the universal brotherhood of mankind. Walking the difficult path of assimilation, they tried to remove any remaining social barriers. They ignored the anti-Semitic undercurrents present in many of the day's nationalistic ideologies.[10] The Dreyfus Affair of the 1890s brought the issues of nationalism and anti-Semitism to a forefront causing many to seriously reexamine the so-called Jewish Question. For those thinkers and writers, the pitfalls of assimilation and emancipation became painfully evident; Theodore Herzl's 1896 First Zionist Congress was only one of many responses to these complex issues.

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[8]*Encyclopaedia Judaica,* s.v. "Zionism," by Getzel Kressel, 1032.

[9]Naomi Cohen, *The Americanizaiton of Zionism,* 3.

[10]Yehuda Bauer, *A History of the Holocaust,* revised ed. (New York: Franklin Watts, 2001), 46-48.

By tracing Jewish loyalty to and the origins of liberalism with the Enlightenment, H.I. Bach and David Vital explain liberalism's strong Jewish following. According to Enlightenment thinkers, universal laws governed nature. By using reason, a quality found only in man, natural laws could be known and understood. Because all members of the human family were endowed with reason, differences in ethnicity could and should be transcended. According to Bach, such an intellectual climate encouraged thinkers to see Jews and Judaism in a new light. Judaism came to be seen as "reasonable" and congruent with Enlightenment views. After all, hadn't the Jews used reason when teaching from the Bible?[11]

Bach explains the *Haskalah* or the Jewish Enlightenment within the larger European movement. Key *Haskalah* figures like Moses Mendelssohn viewed Enlightenment based, western education as the golden ticket to social equality within the European state. Bach thus characterizes the era of emancipation as one of "Messianic expectation." He writes: "The expectation of redemption from within changed in the twin hopes of liberation and salvation from without." Redemption came with a price tag. In line with Enlightenment thinking, only individuals could expect full rights through emancipation; for the community there would be nothing.[12]

Focusing on power relationships between Jews and the larger Christian European society, David Vital stresses that the Enlightenment-triggered emancipation era marked the Jews' entry into civil society, thus changing forever their relationship with the state. By granting Jews full social equality, European governments could expand their

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[11]H.I. Bach, *The German Jew: A Synthesis of Judaism and Western Civilization, 1730-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 51, 69.

[12]Bach, *The German Jew,*73, 245.

jurisdiction and control. Prior to this period, Jews as a "pariah community" were beyond state control. Admitting them into civil society was unthinkable. As a result, Jews enjoyed a unique set of privileges. "Having no established rights...they were generally free of overriding obligations." Vital notes. At the end of the day, the greatest number of Jews lived in those areas granting them the most autonomy.[13]

Vital sheds greater light on the *Haskalah.* Granting their Jewish subjects an education founded upon Enlightenment ideals served governmental interests. A western educated Jew was potentially more "useful" to the state than the "ghetto-Jew." By following a policy of inclusion, many believed the obnoxious Jew would disappear once exposed to education and enlightenment. "The power to bestow the gift...of emancipation or to withhold it" so Vital writes, lay directly in the hands of the government and society at large.[14] To support his thesis, Vital discusses how the French Revolution impacted Jewish emancipation and promoted liberalism. In order to create a nation state, revolutionists rooted in the enlightenment attempted to dismantle all groups and organizations perceived to disrupt the state's relationship with her individual citizens. Such efforts brought about the birth of liberalism, a system promoting individual civil rights under a constitutional state. When Napoleon granted French Jews their emancipation he did so only on an individual basis and in a way that would benefit the state.[15] Liberalism provided a political and social framework allowing Jews to achieve status both within and without their ethnic group.

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[13]David Vital, *A People Apart: The Jews of Europe, 1789-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 4, 7, 10-11, 31, 99, 248.

[14]Vital, *A People Apart,* 36, 31.

[15] Vital, *A People Apart,* 49, 60; Jackson J. Spielvogel, *Hitler and Nazi Germany: A History* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2001), 1-2.

Vital concludes that Emancipation failed as the idea of "nation" took precedent over state. How to combine nation and state became the burning question, especially for Jews. Gaining citizenship within a state was not enough. Membership within the nation had to be achieved.[16] "National self-consciousness...needed some contrasts to define itself," Bach explains, "Such a contrast could be found either externally or internally." In the end it was a region's Jewish population that often became the point of contrast, or to use Bach's analogy, its "shadow."[17]

Modern anti-Semitism understandably grew and spread alongside nationalism. What is not clear is why many Western Jewish communities ignored the blatantly anti-Semitic attacks of the late 1800s and early 1900s. Specifically covering the German Jewish experience, Amos Elon's narrative, *The Pity of it All,* suggests that by all appearances, liberalism and assimilation seemed to be working. Elon cites that in 1867, 14.8% of all Berlin high school students were Jewish. Jews celebrated Christmas as a German "Volkfest." Basing his conclusions on birth and intermarriage rates, Felix Theilhaber predicted German Jewry's disappearance by 1950. Advising them to quit "looking" and "acting" Jewish, Walter Rathenau observed that "Jews would survive as Jews...through assimilation." "Assimilationists," Elon concludes," continued to put their trust in a better future, built not on...love and hope but on...political, cultural, and economic bases." Wealth, contributions to the arts and sciences, and the Social

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[16]Vital, *A People Apart,* 248.

[17]Bach, *The German Jew,* 12.

Democrats' successes, all contributed to a sense of permanency. Most importantly, Jews viewed the state as "the chief guarantor of ...stability."[18]

At the close of the nineteenth century, western European Jews could either continue to try and assimilate or they could present themselves as a nation deserving political attention. Ironically, by emphasizing their national identity, Jews found common ground with the anti-Semites. This may explain why so many Jews shied away from early Zionist movements. Allying with Zionism could jeopardize Jewish advancements.

Both the Dreyfus Affair and Herzl's brand of Jewish nationalism caused an overall questioning of liberalism and demonstrated the degree in which nationalism had penetrated European society. Albert Lindemann connects the Dreyfus affair with a rise in French nationalism. He traces the growth of nationalism to three basic fears: fear of big business, fear of secularism, and fear of other European powers. France experienced nationalism's pull long before the actual Affair. Nationalism appeared with greater force during the Affair because it touched off fears linked with that movement's growth. Associating all Jews with big business, small shopkeepers quickly condemned Dreyfus. Because secularization helped Jews rise within French society, Dreyfus' army rank concerned religious fundamentalists. Finally, yet another intelligence scandal threatened to compromise the army's prestige and image.[19]

Even if the public did not grasp the Dreyfus Affair's significance, it was not lost on the *Neue Freie Press'* talented Pars correspondent, Theodore Herzl. Practically

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[18]Amos Elon, *The Pity of it All: A History of Jews in Germany, 1743-1933* (New York: Metropolitian Books, Henry Holt and Company, 2002), 205, 231, 225, 233, 209, 222, 241.

[19]Albert S. Lindeman, *The Jew Accused: Three Anti-Semitic Affairs (Dreyfus, Baeilis, Frank), 1894-1915* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 67, 71, 73-74, 77.

deified by later Zionists, Herzl is a highly complex character. In titling his biography *The Labyrinth of Exile,* Ernst Pawel adequately describes Herzl's life and work. While Jewish nationalism did not originate with him, Herzl questioned liberalism in such a way Europe's assimilated Jews could not ignore. Most importantly, rather than opposing nationalism, Herzl's program imitated in ever aspect.

Although he graduated with a Law degree, Herzl always aspired to literary greatness. Not without talent, he landed a job with one of Vienna's top newspapers, *Neue Freie Press.* Like many, Herzl tried his best to ignore the era's anti-Semitic sentiment. In taking on an assignment as the paper's Paris correspondent, Herzl arrived just in time to witness firsthand the Dreyfus Affair.[20] Pawel demonstrates that Herzl slowly arrived at a solution to the "Jewish Question" by basing his ideas on nationalism, the anti-Semites' weapon of choice. In late January 1896, he published his conclusions in a pamphlet entitled *Der Judenstaat* in which Herzl conceded to one of anti-Semitism's main tenants: emancipation's failure to absorb a people whose national identity was separate and unique. Only with a state of their own could Jews ever hope to gain full equality with other nations. While revolutionary in Western Europe, writer Leon Pinsker and the Eastern European Hibbat Zion movement predated Herzl's ideology by a decade. "In discovering Zionism Herzl...reinvented the wheel," Pawel quipped; whereas Pinsker had only "diagnosed the ailment and wrote a prescription," Herzl put his ideas into action. A year after *Der Judenstaat* appeared, the first Zionist congress convened.[21]

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[20]Ernst Pawel, *The Labyrinth of Exile: A Life of Theodor Herzl* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1989), 165, 169.

[21]Pawel, *The Labyrinth of Exile,* 214-215, 337.

An important theme often revisited by Pawel is Herzl's efforts to gain political sanction for a Jewish State. Pawel makes it clear that Herzl believed in the Jewish State's imminent creation. Following the Zionist Congress, Herzl boldly proclaimed: "In Basel I founded the Jewish state." Pawel details the succeeding Zionist congresses and Herzl's meetings with the Ottoman Sultan, the German Kaiser, the Rothschilds and others. Herzl's diplomatic activities demonstrate the extent at which he modeled his brand of Zionism after European Nationalism. Acting as the future state's first ambassador, Herzl worked endlessly to engineer all the apparatuses such a state would need. In many respects, he succeeded. [22]

Facing a new century, the majority of Jews continued to hold fast to liberalism—despite nationalistic undertones. Looking back on the last century's many advancements, liberalism had served Jews well; prior to the Dreyfus Affair, there was no reason to believe the new century would differ. Neither the affair's anti-Semitic character nor nationalism's power could remain unnoticed. Amidst the Dreyfus crisis, Herzl organized the first Zionist Congress. The connection between the two events is not happenstance. Nor was Herzl's Zionism merely a reaction to a rise in French national feeling. In creating a congress, meeting with powers of state, even accepting Uganda as a location in which to build a future state, Herzl mimicked European nation state politics. Now Jews had the option of "assimilating" into the world of European politics not as Germans or Frenchmen, but as Jews.

Embarking on a new life of freedom and opportunity, Eastern European Jews fleeing Russian pogroms first brought the pre-Herzl Hibbat Zion ideology to the *Golden*

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[22]Pawel, *The Labyrinth of Exile,* 336, 477.

Medinah's shores. After the first Zionist Conference convened, Hibbat Zion groups promoting a "Jewish national renascence" and resettlement in Palestine fused with Herzl's Zionist Organization.[23] As Melvin Urofsky demonstrates in his narrative *American Zionism from Herzl to the Holocaust,* a movement fueled by European nationalism and surging anti-Semitism fared very differently once on American soil.

From their first arrival in 1654, the Jewish experience in the United States has been unlike anywhere else. Compared with their lives in Europe, the three major waves of Sephardic, German, and Eastern European Jews faced relatively little anti-Semitism. The United States had no history of ghettos, anti-Jewish laws, emancipation or nationalistic anti-Semitism. Instead, American Jews faced economic and social biases linked to the stresses and strains of post-Civil War industrialization. Despite discrimination, the Jewish community thrived amidst "full civil and economic equality." Coming in waves throughout the 1850s and 1880s, German Jews were especially successful. According to the 1890 Census, the majority employed at least one servant. Most were craftsmen, merchants, or professionals; "only one Jew out of a hundred was still an unskilled workman or domestic servant," Urofsky reports.[24] Little wonder that in 1841 while dedicating the newly erected temple Beth Elohim, reform Rabbi Gustav Posnanski of Charleston, South Carolina proclaimed: "this country is our Palestine, this city our Jerusalem, this house of God our Temple."[25]

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[23]*Encylopaedia Judaica,* s.v. "Zionism," by Jehuda Reinharz, 1142; *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* s.v. "Zionism," by Shmuel Ettinger, 1038.

[24]Melvin I. Urofsky, *American Zionism from Herzl to the Holocaust* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 69-70, 55.

[25]Quoted in Thomas A. Kolsky, *Jews Against Zionism: The American Council for Judaism, 1942-1948* (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1990), 29.

In the early years, American Zionists found few adherents and critics aplenty. Mostly German Reform Jews, detractors disliked Zionism's nationalist ideology, fearing dual loyalty charges.[26] Moreover, Reform Judaism's 1885 Pittsburgh Platform completely denounced Jewish nationalism. "We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community," it read.[27] Originating in nineteenth-century Germany, the reform movement emphasized mission over nation; in the United States, Reform became synonymous with Americanism. Chosen to spread the ethical message of the Prophets, Reform Jews sought to usher in the messianic age and unite all humanity. Instead of a punishment, Diaspora life actualized this divine mission.[28]

Although the 1914 Balfour Declaration helped Zionism gain a certain amount of respectability, scholars concur that until the 1940s, American Zionism played a minor role within Jewish communal life. Even during the 1930s, Jews remained largely "ambivalent," making only "token donations to Zionist funds."[29] The horrors of Hitler and the Holocaust brought Zionism to the forefront of American Jewish consciousness.

Framed during the May 1942 Zionist Conference, the Biltmore Program called for the creation of a postwar Jewish state; political Zionism would be the only acceptable

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[26]Urofsky, *American Zionism,* 97.

[27]Quoted in Kolsky, *Jews Against Zionism,* 22.

[28]Michael A. Meyer, "American Reform Judaism and Zionism," *Studies n Zionism,* (Spring, 1974): 55-56; Naomi Cohen, *The Americanization of Zionism,* 40-44.

[29]Melvin I. Urofsky, *We Are One!: American Jewry and Israel* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1978), 3; Kolsky, *Jews Against Zionism,* 26; Joe Stork and Sharon Rose explain the Jewish community's perplexing silence during the 1930s: "This was a...time when most American Jews were busy pulling themselves out of the personal crises created by the Great Depression...Jews as a group tended to be much less isolationist, but they feared being accused of suggesting that American boys should be sent to die for Europeans. This isolationism was coupled with the growing anti-Semitism which was seen as a real threat by the Jewish community." "Zionism and American Jewry," *Journal of Palestine Studies,* 3 (Spring, 1974): 46-47.

answer for a postwar refugee crisis. Aaron Berman explained the program's rational: "Only the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine would insure the right of all Jews to immigrate to that land." A year later, despite significant opposition, delegates at the American Jewish Conference endorsed Biltmore and even appealed further for "the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration."[30] Based on the 1945 Roper Poll, 80% of American Jews solidly favored a Jewish state. If money accurately measures support, the one billion, five hundred million private U.S. citizen dollars collected between 1945 and 1967 is suggestive.[31]

As the world responded to the Holocaust, Zionism's legitimacy reached unprecedented heights. For survivors attempting to renter a world unprepared to welcome them, it is not surprising many emerged from Europe's Displaced Persons camps avowed Zionists. Bernard Wasserstein observes in *Vanishing Diaspora* that those leaving extermination camps experienced general feelings of alienation. Survival became the common goal tying together what was left of Europe's Jewish Community. Left adrift, often without family or communal ties, survivors turned to Zionism. Even among those who successfully integrated back into Western European society, the majority became Zionists and increasingly secular. For these Jews, Zionism acted as a "civil religion and a secular mode of identification."[32]

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[30]Aaron Berman, *Nazism, the Jews and American Zionism, 1933-1948* (Detroit: Wayne state University Press, 1990), 86-87, 116.

[31]Samuel Halperin, *The Political World of American Zionism,* 37-38; Stork and Rose, "Zionism and American Jewry," 50.

[32]Bernard Wasserstein, *Vanishing Diaspora: The Jews in Europe Since 1945* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996), 7, 281, 58-59; 71, 85, 102.

In assessing why wealthy, secular Jews overwhelmingly identified with Zionism, Wasserstein makes his most insightful observation. Jews who survived the Nazi era no longer equated prosperity and opportunity with security. "Perhaps the most significant effect of the Nazi genocide on post-war Jewish life...has been the obsession...with *survival,*" Wasserstine explains. Zionism provided the most cohesive plan for insuring national survival. With the proclamation of the state of Israel, Jews obtained an internationally recognized nation state. For those continuing to live in the Diaspora, Israel came to mean both cultural and physical safety.[33] As a way for European Jews to interact with those outside their ethnic group, liberalism vanished in the fires of Nazi crematoriums.

For American Jews and others searching for answers to recently reveled terrors, Zionism offered practical and ideological solutions. A Jewish state solved the post-war refugee problem and, perhaps even more important, symbolized victory over Nazi madness and the resilience of the human spirit.[34] In addition to these factors, the seemingly sudden "nationalist revolution" succeeded because Zionism had Americanized—it looked and behaved American.

Viewed by German Jews as different and to a certain extent un-American, Eastern European Jews and Zionists had to Americanize. By associating Zionism with democracy and freedom, early leaders such as Louis Brandies and Stephen Wise emphasized Jews could be good Americans while supporting a Jewish homeland. Through financial contributions, Jewish Americans might demonstrate their loyalty to the

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[33]Wasserstein, *Vanishing Diaspora,* 280.

[34]Aaron Berman, *Nazism, the Jews and American Zionism, 1933-1948,* 14; Urofsky, *We Are One!,* 239.

cause; immigrating to Palestine was not needed.[35] Progressive in nature, Brandies and the others believed Zionism would "establish a model society," succeeding where Puritan New England failed.[36] Like the Founding Fathers, American Zionists countered the German Jewish hegemony, insisting on democratic equality at home and abroad. Brandeis asserted that good American Jews supported settlement in Palestine. In the end, Zionism *Americanized,* becoming "a movement that was as much American as it was Zionist." Countering the German Jewish hegemony, American Zionist called for democratic equality within the Jewish community.[37]

American Zionism developed what Allon Gal termed a "mission motif," stressing "the non-nationalist or 'higher' social and ethical goals as the fulfillment of Zionism; the rationale of Zionism was perceived as its service to the betterment of mankind." Ultimately finding peace in an independent Jewish State, American Jews believed their persecuted brothers would create a new kind of society, a "light among the nations." This mission conformed with American humanistic values: "The relationship was even more intimate since the American ethos...included the idea of American mission."[38] Because Reform Judaism was already heavily "mission oriented," Michael Meyer contends that American Zionism's mission motif eventually united both movements. "The Mission idea, reinterpreted to include the spiritual center in Palestine...[became] the common

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[35] Naomi Cohen, *The Americanization of Zionism,* 1, 5-6, 44.

[36]Allon Gal, "The Mission Motif in American Zionism," *American Jewish History,* LXXV, no. 4 (June 1986): 370.

[37]Naomi Cohen, *The Americanization of Zionism,* 1, 5-7.

[38]Allon Gal, "The Mission Motif," 363-364.

purpose," Meyer explains.[39] Stephen Wise explained the connection slightly differently: "Liberalism will preserve Judaism and Zionism will preserve the Jew."[40]

While Zionism Americanized on the ideological level, the movement created an organizational structure capable of obtaining Jewish support and, in later years, act as a powerful interest group.[41] American Zionism organized along the lines described in David Truman's classic, *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion.* Truman defined an interest group as one "that, on the basis of one or more shared attitudes, makes certain claims upon other groups in the society for the establishment, maintenance, or enhancement of forms of behavior that are implied by the shared attitudes."[42] Formal organization indicates an unusually high rate of group interaction. At some point in their history, formally organized interest groups politicize, attempting to meet their goals by working within the governmental process.[43]

Truman points out that "organization is merely one aspect of the process." Successful leadership motivates followers, creating "a functional relationship" contingent upon group needs. "At any particular point in time...the qualifications for leadership...will differ sharply," Truman states, "One whose personality and skills are appropriate to group leadership at one time may be completely inadequate at another." In

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[39]Michael A. Meyer, "American Reform Judaism and Zionism," 63.

[40]Quoted in Meyer, "American Reform Judaism," 63.

[41]Evyatar Friesel, "The Influence of American Jewish Community, 1900-1950," *American Jewish History* LXXV, no. 2 (December 1985): 147.

[42]David B. Truman, *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion,* 2d ed., (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), 33.

[43]Truman, *The Governmental Process,* 104-105, 112.

addition, office holds a certain amount of prestige and status, contributing to group conformity and unity.[44]

Based on Truman's analysis, interest groups spread their message through propaganda and contact with appropriate leaders in government. Using Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell's definition, as a "systematic attempt to shape perceptions," propaganda campaigns built on prevailing views work best.[45] In analyzing propaganda, Jowett and O'Donnell consider how organizations disseminate their message, media usage, and the public's response.[46] Interest groups attempt to access government officials so as "to use established relationships and...procedures of the legislative body to give effect to the group's claims." With this in mind, members are often encouraged to participate in letter campaigns and petitions.[47]

Zionists in the United States formed organizations capable of actualizing their ideological mission motif. Especially noticeable during and following the Second World War, these groups behaved like other American interest groups, closely following Truman's model. They disseminated information, pushed petitions and membership drives, organized public meetings and speakers, and carried out fundraising efforts. Along with the Zionist Organization of America and United Jewish Appeal, Hadassah

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[44]Truman, *The Governmental Process,* 114, 189-190, 194.

[45]Truman, *The Governmental Process,* 218, 228; Garth S. Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion* 4h ed. (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 2006), 6, 269.

[46]Jowett and O'Donnell, *Propaganda,* 273-275, 277-278, 285.

[47]Truman, *The Governmental Process,* 352, 389.

played an especially prominent and unique role.[48] Founded in 1912 by Henrietta Szold, Hadassah, named for the biblical Queen Esther, best demonstrates the movement's ideological and organizational Americanization.[49]

Witnessing deplorable healthcare conditions in Palestine motivated Szold to establish modern medical and social programs for the region's struggling Jewish population. Mobilizing American Jewish women, she created Hadassah. By the end of the Second World War, Hadassah's membership surpassed all other Zionist organizations. Melvin Urofsky attributes this success to Hadassah's "emphasis on the practical, on the identifiable project, as opposed to vague generalizations or philosophical abstractions," values very American in nature.[50]

Yet as Erica B. Simmons and others note, Hadassah effectively synthesized Progressive era maternalism with the Zionist mission motif. If a woman's sphere could be expanded to include healing America's societal ills, certainly she might help create a model society in Palestine by constructing medical facilities, schools, and social services. Hadassah functioned like other philanthropic women's societies, focusing on practical needs rather than philosophical hair-splitting. "Zionist women were responsible...for the welfare of the entire Jewish people and in particular, for the nurturing and 'up building of the Jewish state-in-the-making,'" Simmons explains.[51]

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[48]Deborah E. Lipstadt, "The History of American Zionist Organizations: An Ideological and Functional Analysis," in *Jewish American Voluntary Organizations,* ed. Michael N. Dobkowski (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1986), 537-539.

[49]Allon Gal, "Aspects of the Zionist Movement's Role in the Communal Life of American Jewry (1898-1948), *American Jewish History,* Vol. LXXV, no. 2 (December 1985): 157.

[50]Urofsky, *American Zionism,* 143.

[51]Erica B. Simmons, *Hadassah and the Zionist Project* (Lantham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2006), 1-3, 49, 50-51.

When he refused to contribute further to the United Jewish Appeal, Leon Watters completely ignored Zionism's Americanization. No matter what garb it took, Zionism remained unacceptable to him. "Though I cannot agree with your conclusions," Rabbi Wise wrote Watters several days later, "I enjoy hearing from you and appreciate your writing me about how you feel." Whether or not Watters' feelings changed remains unknown; he continued his philanthropic work, sending significant sums back to the Jews of his home town, Salt Lake City, Utah.[52]

"Zionism in Zion: Salt Lake City's Jewish Community and Israel, 1933-1967" examines how Zionism and the creation of the state of Israel affected one relatively small Jewish community in the western United States. Testing Gal and Meyer's "mission motif" paradigm, this thesis will assess the extent at which community leaders, Zionist organizations, and visiting speakers or events utilized a sense of mission in their views and discussions regarding Zionism and Israel.

It will be argued that the Salt Lake Jewish community followed national trends in their interest in and formation of Zionist organizations and that Zionist activity was shaped by religious and other influential community leaders. As was the case elsewhere in the United States, meetings, fundraisers, writing governmental leaders, and other organized activities "nationalized" the Salt Lake community, connecting them with other Jews on national and international levels in supporting a movement aimed at creating a Jewish nation state in Palestine. "Zionism in Zion" will also touch upon the unique connection between Jews and Mormons. Political Zionism found an especially safe

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[52]Rabbi Jonah B. Wise, New York, to Leon L. Watters, 19 May, 1946, University of Utah, Marriott Library Special Collections, Leon L. Watters Collection Mic. Reel 1, 1885-1963; Leon L. Watters Collection, Correspondence, newspaper articles, bulletins, and photography relating to Congregation B'nai Israel, Salt Lake City, 1854-1966, Mic. Reel 1.

haven within the larger "Mormon Zion" where church doctrine emphasized a peculiar Mormon-Jewish brotherhood as well as a gathering of Jews to their ancient homeland.

This thesis will be organized into four sections or chapters. A historical description describing the Salt Lake City Jewish community's origins and growth will provide necessary background information. Subsequent sections will then address the role principle leaders of Salt Lake Zionism, Salt Lake Hadassah chapter activities, and visiting speakers and other community activities had in spreading American Zionism's sense of mission. The conclusion seeks to place the Zionist movement within a global context.

Source material is located primarily at the University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, specifically Jewish Archives, and the Louis C. Zucker and Benjamin M. Roe papers. Karen McArthur and Helene Cuomo provided invaluable monthly Hadassah minutes. Oral histories collected during the mid-1970s and early 1980s contain wonderful insights into Salt Lake's Jewish community. During the years in consideration, the parade of regional, national and international Zionist leaders passing through Salt Lake City received substantial press coverage. In addition, Fred Tannenbaum, Joel Shapiro, and Esther Landa's comments regarding Zionism were especially useful.

"Zionism in Zion: Salt Lake City's Jewish Community and Israel, 1933-1967" contributes to existing literature by focusing on a local community's response towards and acceptance of Zionism and support for Israel. As Jonathan Sarna noted in his article, "American Jewish History," appearing in the October 1990 issue of *Modern Jewish Studies,* "the history of American Jews from World War I to the present has so far defied

efforts at synthesis." He further added, "The history of American Jewish life in the post-War period has only just begun to be researched." The impact of Israel's establishment, the influence of Jews in American economy, politics, and culture along with changes in religious activity, intermarriage, and movement out of major urban centers are just a few key themes Sarna cited as needing attention by "American Jewish historians in the years ahead."[53]

In certain respects, the last seventeen years worth of scholarship addressed many of Sarna's concerns, but as yet too many historians ignore local Jewish history, especially communities found in the American West. Studies that do discuss Jews in the West continue to focus largely on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries at expense of the dramatic postwar era, when according to Robert E. Levinson, universal "moral and financial support of the State of Israel" aided in "the rise of a more-or less unified American Jewish community, of which the Jews of the West form a part."[54] While Zionism and the impact of Israel's creation on American Jews has long captured historians' attention, few scholars attempt to explain how America's Jews on a local level became involved in Zionist organizations and demonstrated their support for the new Jewish State.

Rather than focusing on a major Jewish population center, this thesis has as its focus a small community located in the western United States, a region often overlooked by scholars researching American Jewish history. In addition, the community's situation within the capitol of "Mormondom," makes the study especially compelling. Unique

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[53] Jonathan D. Sarna, "American Jewish History," *Modern Jewish Studies* vol. 10, No. 3 (Oct., 1990): 353, 355.

[54]Robert E. Levinson, "Jews in the West," *The Western Historical Quarterly* vol. 5 No. 3 (July, 1974): 291-292.

from mainstream Christianity, Mormon beliefs emphasize a shared brotherhood between the two religious traditions coloring the Jewish experience in Utah. It is hoped that the proposed thesis will heighten awareness about Jews in the American West during the twentieth century, explain how Zionist organizations functioned on the local level, and the impact Israel's creation left on local Jewish communities.

CHAPTER 1

SALT LAKE CITY'S JEWISH COMMUNITY TO 1960: AN OVERVIEW

According to their daughter, Eveline, Julius and Fannie Brooks married August 18, 1853 near Breslau, Germany. Within months the couple sailed for America. Shortly after their arrival, the two left New York City and headed west. "The excitement of gold mines was in the air...and Father [said], 'Fannie, let us take our few dollars and go West.'" Ready for adventure, Julius and sixteen-year-old Fannie joined a wagon train leaving Galena, Illinois for California. Passing through Salt Lake City, the Books met Alexander Niebaur, the famed Mormon Jew. Upon seeing Fannie, Niebaur proclaimed her "the first Jewish woman that had come overland to Utah."[1]

Eventually, Fannie and Julius found their way back to Utah, opening up a boarding house and millenary shop. "We lived forty years in Salt Lake City," Eveline recalled in her memoirs. "Growing up among families where a man had one wife or half a dozen, and where they called each other 'Sister' or 'Brother'...meant nothing to me. We were so accustomed to that way of living," she added. Eveline later married Samuel Auerbach, owner of the one time popular Salt Lake department store.[2]

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[1]Eveline Brooks Auerbach, in *A Homeland in the West: Utah Jews Remember,* ed. Eileen Hallet Stone (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2001), 57.

[2]Eveline Brooks Auerbach, 60-61, 64, 71.

Julius and Fannie's life together illustrates an often overlooked aspect of the Jewish experience: their settlement in the American West. Demographics help explain the continued lack of attention. With the exception of San Francisco and Los Angeles, the Eastern United States boasted the largest Jewish population centers. In stark contrast with the west, by 1920, one fourth of New York City was Jewish, establishing it as the major cultural center. [3]

Hasia Diner cites another reason why general scholarship ignores Jews of the west: "'Jewish' has been synonymous with New York and 'the West' as the essence of America." For those venturing beyond the Mississippi, the West "served...as a crucible for turning them into Americans."[4] Stressing the rugged, independent characteristics of the white pioneer, the Americanization movement of the early 1900s spawned the myth.[5] Based on this popular interpretation, Eastern European Jews remained near cultural centers alive with Old World references while German Jews, relying on their adaption and assimilation skills, helped people the west.[6]

Not all historians perpetuate the East-West dichotomy. In studying Denver's turn-of-the century Jewish life, John Livingston noted the community's Eastern European Jews. Embarrassed by their "foreign" brothers, Reform Jews lived in east Denver; struggling Polish and Russian Jews, mostly Orthodox, inhabited the west side. As Livingston notes, pogroms and other anti-Semitic outbreaks plaguing Eastern European

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[3]Hasia R. Diner, "American West, New York Jewish," in *Jewish Life in the American West: Perspectives on Migration, Settlement and Community* ed. Ava F. Kahn (Los Angeles: Autry Museum of Western Heritage, 2002), 44.

[4]Diner, "American West, New York Jewish," 33, 37.

[5]Frank Van Nuys, *Americanizing the West: Race Immigrants, and Citizenship, 1890-1930* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2002), 11.

[6]Diner, "American West, New York Jewish," 39.

Jews created migration waves. Migrating first to Western Europe and later to New York City, significant numbers found homes in the Western United States.[7]

Ironically, established German Reform Jews helped settle fellow co-religionists across the United States. By lessening Jewish urban concentration, they hoped for anti-Semitism's decline. With this in mind, they created the Industrial Removal Office (IRO). In its twenty-year existence, the IRO found homes for approximately 80,000 immigrants.[8] Likewise, the Galveston Plan, launched in 1907, helped redirect Eastern European Jews away from east coast cities, Galveston, Texas replacing Ellis Island.[9]

In establishing general patterns for comparison, Lee Shai Weissbach's survey, *Jewish Life in Small-Town America,* is invaluable. Covering the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Weissbach found most small town Jews either peddled or otherwise provided for the area's consumer needs. Through insignificant numberwise, "it would have been difficult for a citizen...to conduct normal activities...without encountering at least some Jewish merchants or business people," Weissbach observed.[10] Generally more mobile, a town's economic state significantly affected whether or not Jewish residents remained. First held in individual homes, formal synagogue services signified a stable community. Reflecting a mixed German-Eastern European community, Reform and Orthodox synagogues coexisted side by side. Unlike larger cities, small towns saw an

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[7]John Livingston, "The Industrial Removal Office, the Galveston Project, and the Denver Jewish Community," in *The Jews of the West: The Metropolitan Years* ed. Moses Rischin (Waltham, Massachusetts: American Jewish Historical Society, 1979), 51-52.

[8]Jack Glazier, *Dispersing the Ghetto: The Relocation of Jewish Immigrants across America* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2005), 7, 15-16.

[9]Livingston, "The Industrial Removal Office," 68.

[10]Lee Shai Weissbach, *Jewish Life in Small-Town America: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 9.

increase in synagogue mergers as the century progressed, leaving few Orthodox congregations untouched.[11] Finally, Weissbach noted that Zionist activity occurred in communities with a significant Eastern European Jewish population. Hadassah chapters specifically served as an indicator measuring Zionist support. Hadassah and other Zionist related activity demonstrated "the importance of long-distance ties in helping ...residents ...sustain their Jewish identities." [12]

To a large extent, the history of Salt Lake City's Jewish Community follows Weissbach's generalizations. Early settlers like Fannie and Julius Brooks hailed primarily from Germany; Eastern European Jews followed later. Both groups peddled, established businesses and founded separate Reform and Orthodox synagogues. In addition, the community responded to local conditions and circumstances, creating its own unique history. Certainly, life in Mormon Zion was unlike any other.

Emaciated and near death, Solomon Nunes Carvalho arrived in Parowan, Utah, February 1854. Part of John C. Fremont's Rockies Expedition, Carvalho was taken to the home of Mr. Heap. "Mr. Heap was the first Mormon I ever spoke to, and although I had heard and read of them, I never contemplated ...that I would have occasion to be indebted to Mormons for much kindness and attention." The Sephardic Jew marveled at Heap's two wives and later noted the "marked attention" given him by Brigham Young, who "often called for me to take a drive in his carriage, and invited me to come and live with him."[13] Though taught the Jews were scattered and persecuted because they rejected

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[11]Weissbach, *Jewish Life,* 97,66, 159, 169, 179-180, 186, 197, 253-254.

[12]Weissbach, *Jewish Life,* 261.

[13]Solomon Nunes Carvalho, in *A Homeland in the West: Utah Jews Remember* ed. Eileen Hallet Stone (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2001), 39-40, 41.

Jesus as their Messiah, Mormons regarded their Jewish neighbors as God's Chosen People.[14]

Heavily millenarian, Mormons were a people with a mission. Latter-day Saints sought to reestablish Zion, or the Kingdom of God, preach the gospel "to all nations, kindreds, tongues and people,"[15] and prepare the world for Christ's second coming. Sermons contained in the *Journal of Discourses* reveal important insights into how nineteenth-century Mormons viewed themselves and their Jewish brothers. Wilford Woodruff taught that Jesus first established his gospel among the Jews. Because they rejected Jesus as the Messiah, the Apostles brought his message to the "Gentile" nations, or those not Jewish. Eventually, through the work of Latter-day Saint missionaries, the "kingdom of God" would be "restored back to every branch and tribe of the house of Israel," including the Jewish people. "For we are out of the tribe of Joseph through the loins of Ephraim, who have been as a mixed cake among the gentiles...and the Lord has given unto us the kingdom and Priesthood and keys thereof," Woodruff explained.[16]

Elsewhere, Brigham Young preached the Jews would not receive Christ's gospel until once again established in the land of their fathers. "A Jew cannot now believe in Jesus Christ," Young declared. "The decree has gone forth from the Almighty that they cannot have the benefit of the Atonement until they gather to Jerusalem."[17] Wilford Woodruff added: "Your cannot convert a Jew; you may as well try to convert this house

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[14]2 Nephi 10: 3-8.

[15]"The Testimony of Eight Witnesses," The Book of Mormon.

[16]Wilford Woodruff, February 23, 1857 *Journal of Discourses* 4 (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1974), 232-233.

[17]Brigham Yong, December 23, 1866 *Journal of Discourses* 11, 279.

of solid walls as to convert them into the faith of Christ."[18] Consequently, missionary efforts targeted Gentile nations.[19] "'Whom do you call gentiles?'" Orson Pratt once rhetorically asked, "Every nation excepting the literal descendants of Israel. We, the Latter-day Saints, are Gentiles...we have come from among the Gentile nations, though many of us may have the blood of Israel within our veins."[20]

Church leaders often expressed feelings of concern and hope for the Jewish people. Differing from other Christian denominations, the Latter-day Saints never condemned Jews as a people or religion. Church doctrine emphasized and preached the Jews' physical and spiritual restoration: a restoration to the land of Israel and a restoration to ancient covenants. Their restoration prefigured millennial peace and rest. "We have a great desire for their welfare," Brigham Young stated, "and are looking for the time soon to come when they will gather to Jerusalem, build up the city and the land of Palestine, and prepare for the coming of the Messiah."[21] Twelve years after the church's organization, Apostle Orson Hyde dedicated Palestine for the Jews' return.[22] Wilford Woodruff often prayed for the Jews, feeling "interested in their behalf, for they are the seed of Abraham and a branch of the house of Israel, and the promises of God still remain with them."[23] In dedicating the Salt Temple, he prayed for the Jews to once again

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[18]Wilford Woodruff, February 23, 1857 *Journal of Discourses* 4, 232.

[19]Wilford Woodruff, July 19, 1868 *Journal of Discourses* 12, 278.

[20]Orson Pratt, July 25, 1875 *Journal of Discourses* 18, 64.

[21]Brigham Young, December 23, 1866 *Journal of Discourses* 11, 279

[22]Rudolf Glanz, *Jew and Mormon: Historic Group Relations and Religious Outlook* (New York: Waldon Press, Inc., 1963), 81.

[23]Wilford Woodruff, February 23, 1857 *Journal of Discourses* 4, 232.

"be planted...in the valleys and plains of their ancient home."[24] Believing them to be brothers, most Mormons welcomed the Jews, a historical anomaly.[25]

A church-sponsored boycott of all non-Mormon business in 1868 temporarily strained Mormon-Jewish relations. Leonard Arrington traces the Mormon-Gentile animosity to the 1857 Utah War. Church leaders believed Gentile establishments supported Johnston's Army, hoping for valuable windfalls. Brigham Young urged members not to frequent businesses seeking the Kingdom's ruin. Founded on October 24, 1868, Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI) aimed to unite all Mormon businesses and institute retail price controls. Brigham Young warned unresponsive Mormon merchants they would share the economic ruin reserved for Gentile establishments.[26] ZCMI incorporated only two non-Mormon businesses: Jewish owned Rasohoff and Company and L. Reggel.[27] The Auerbachs, Kahns, and others weathered Brigham's boycott while others either left completely or temporarily tried their luck in the Gentile boomtown of Corinne.[28] Responding to pressure both within and without the Mormon community, church president John Taylor officially discontinued the cooperative movement on April 11, 1882, normalizing Mormon Utah's economy.[29]

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[24]Quoted in James E. Talmage, *The House of the Lord* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft Publishers, 1962), 168-169.

[25]Rudolf Glanz, *Jew and Mormon,* 63.

[26]Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), 294, 299.

[27]Juanita Brooks, *The History of the Jews in Utah and Idaho* (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1973), 61.

[28]Leon Watters, *The Pioneer Jews of Utah* (New York: American Jewish Historical Society, 1952), 58.

[29]Arrington, *The Great Basin Kingdom,* 313-314.

While Julius and Fannie Brooks are the first documented Jews to pass through the Salt Lake Valley, many followed the army and railroad, looking for new economic opportunities. Nicholas Ransohoff, the Kahn and Auerbach brothers, and the Bamberger family represent Salt Lake's early German Jewish population. Rasohoff emigrated from Westphalia, Germany in 1845, settling for a time in Philadelphia. Leaving for California in 1849, he returned east only long enough to marry. It appears Ransohoff entered Salt Lake with Johnston's Army. Writing in the Salt Lake City *Vendette,* J.H. Beadle commented: "When Johnston's Army left, [Ransohoff] advanced [Brigham] Young the sum of $30,000 with which to purchase army pork."[30] Throughout the 1860s, his company successfully freighted needed eastern goods and supplies west to Salt Lake City.

Originally from Prussia, Nicholas Ransohoff's one-time partner Samuel Kahn left Philadelphia for Illinois and Kansas. Buying general merchandise stock, he headed further west with a wagon train bound for Utah. Once in Salt Lake, he sold his goods and headed East for more. After brief partnerships with Ransohoff and a George Bodenberg, Kahn and his brother Emanuel formed their own firm, distributing wholesale groceries throughout Utah.[31]

Samuel Auerbach followed his older brother Fred from Germany to Rabbit Creek, California. "Fred sent money to New York to cover my steamer ticket, pocket money, and traveling expenses," Samuel later remembered. He arrived at the Sierra supply town August, 1862, where he and Fred operated a store, selling to Nevada, Montana, and Salt Lake City mining merchants. In addition to dry goods and mining supplies, the Auerbach

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[30]Quoted in Leon Watters, *The Pioneer Jews of Utah,* 126.

[31]Leon Watters, *The Pioneer Jews of Utah,* 126-129.

brothers "specialized in men's and ladies' Indian tanned buckskin gloves broidered with silk in fancy floral designs." Fred left Rabbit Creek when business slowed during the spring and summer months of 1863. After trying his luck in a Nevada mining town, March 1864 saw him in Salt Lake City, liquidating remaining merchandise. An acquaintance introduced Auerbach to Brigham Young who helped Fred set up shop in an adobe cabin west of Main Street. "In the spring of 1865, my brother Theodore and I joined him," Samuel recalled. *Auerbach's* reached its final destination.[32]

Later governor of Utah, fourteen-year-old Simon Bamberger left his home in Eberstadt, Hesse-Darmstadt, joining his brother Herman in Wilmington, Ohio. Simon ran Herman's store while he served in the Civil War. After the war, the two brothers set up shop in St. Louis. "We sold considerable goods to a trader who was a contractor, following the Union Pacific Railroad as it was being built westward. This man was in our debt and, as money was scarce, I started West to collect it," Bamberger wrote in his memoirs. After hearing the St. Louis store failed, Simon continued westward, renting out tents and "shacks" to eager miners. Hearing favorable reports about Utah, Bamberger eventually arrived in 1869. Bamberger purchased shares in the "Centennial Eureka" mine, a fortune he shared with his brothers, Herman, Jacob and Louis. As an outgrowth of his mining interests, in the early 1890s, Bamberger successfully completed a railroad connecting Salt Lake and Ogden, in the process founding Utah's amusement park, "Lagoon." "It was here in the...generous West, and surrounded by the...home-loving

[32]Samuel H. Auerbach in *A Homeland in the West,* 74-75, 77-78.

people of this mountain empire that I learned the real message of America and became a true American citizen," Bamberger later stated in his inaugural address, January 1917.[33]

Like other German Jewish pioneers, Nicholas Ransohoff, Samuel Kahn, the Auerbachs and Bambergers primarily used family networks as they adapted to new environments, effectively gauging the needs of the community in which they settled. In 1864 Salt Lake's Jewish businessmen celebrated the Day of Atonement, meeting "at the house of one of our East temple Street merchants," the *Salt Lake Telegraph* reported. Part of Utah's early Masonic scene, Jews became involved with the Odd Fellows, and later established their own B'nai Brith lodge in 1892.[34] In 1881, the Auerbachs, Ransohoffs, Bambergers and others founded congregation B'nai Israel, initially holding Reform services in the Odd Fellows Hall. Ten years later, they erected Temple B'nai Israel. Frederick Auerbach's architect-nephew Phillip Meyer supposedly designed the temple after "the Great Synagogue in Berlin." Unfortunately, Meyer's sojourn did not last long; returning to Germany, he died October 15, 1943.[35]

Marking the arrival of eastern European Jews to Salt Lake, Congregation Montefiore formed in 1889. Orthodox in outlook, the thirty original members eventually built their own synagogue in 1904. A break-off from Montefiore, a third congregation, Shaarey Tzedek existed into the early 1930s. As Claire Bernstein remembered, when financial difficulties forced its closure, "all the 'Bolsheviks' came back to Montefiore." According to Louis C. Zucker, by 1940, this new Eastern Europe contingent

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[33]Simon Bamberger in *A Homeland in the West,* 91-97.

[34]Watters, *The Pioneer Jews of Utah,* 31-32, 45, 95-97; Juanita Brooks, *The History of the Jews in Utah and Idaho,* 49; *Salt Lake Telegraph,* quoted in Juanita Brooks, *The History of the Jews,* 50.

[35]Louis C. Zucker, *The Jews of Salt Lake City: Our Background,* unpublished paper, copy in possession of Michael Walton, 2007, 2-3; Stone, *A Homeland in the West,* 15-16.

outnumbered the old German Jewish pioneer population, many joining Temple B'nai Israel. At times antagonists, Congregations B'nai Israel and Montefiore eventually merged in 1976.[36]

Like their German brothers, most Eastern European Jews came to Utah only after living in numerous towns and cities across the American West. Lured by economic opportunity and kinship ties, they settled in Salt Lake City. For example, Dal Siegel's father emigrated from Russia. After first managing a jewelry store back East, he turned to peddling when his partner abruptly left, leaving Siegel saddled with debts. "He opened a store in Cripple Creek, Colorado," Dal recalled, "Later...he went to Ogden...he had a couple of sisters living there."[37] Born in Poland, Sade Tannenbaum grew up in New York City, St. Louis, Kansas City, and Denver. She came to Salt Lake City as a bride.[38]

Others came directly to Utah. Minnie Crutcher's family traveled from Lithuania, meeting up with family and eventually operating a store in Tooele. "Hymie Baron was the first to come. Then Uncle Arthur Frank came. Soon after, Uncle Louis Frank and my father's younger brother, Isidore, arrived," Minnie explained.[39]Some only passed through the Salt Lake area. Rose Arnovitz blamed social cliques. "My husband had three brothers living here." Relying on existing social contacts, Rose felt automatic acceptance.[40]

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[36]Louis C. Zucker, *The Jews of Salt Lake City: Our Background,* 2-3; Stone, *A Homeland in the West,* 17; Claire Steres Bernstein in *A Homeland in the West,* 150.

[37]Dal Siegel, interview by Hynda Rudd and Ralph DeRose, transcript, 6 September, 1972, Jewish Oral History Project, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Accn 1628, Box 2 Fd. 4.

[38]Sade Tannenbaum, interview by Joyce Kelen, transcript, 4 July, 1982, Jewish Community Interview, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Accn 998, Box 6 Fd 1.

[39]Minnie Crutcher, interview by Hynda Rudd, transcript, 25 June, 1973, Jewish Oral History Project, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Accn 1628, Box 1 Fd 10.

[40]Rose Arnovitz, interview by Leslie Kelen, transcript, 16 March, 1983, Jewish Community Interviews, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Accn 1628, Box 2 Fd 2.

To make ends meet, many of Utah's early Eastern European Jews either peddled or owned small businesses. Sarah Pomerance remembered her father peddling dry goods throughout Utah: "He used to take...big bundles...throw two on his shoulder, put it on the wagon. Then he would go out in the country to sell...from house to house...That was the way my father made a living, and it was very hard on him."[41] Others bought and sold junk. Nathan Rosenblatt successfully served as a middleman between junk dealers and sellers. Known for his keen business sense, no dealer dared cheat him or those he represented. Eventually, Rosenblatt owned his own "recycling" business.[42] I.J. Wagner's father discovered discarded burlap bags sold particularly well. Buying bags from grocery stores and other peddlers, he resold them to companies like Bailey and Sons Feed and Seed, making a tidy profit. Wagner continued the business after his father died.[43]

Those who set up shops concentrated along State Street. In the 1920s, "Jewish Row" included Golden Rule, Wolfe's, Eagle Company, Eastern Hatters, Western Outfitters, and Axelrad's Furniture. "There were so many Jewish businesses and their stores," Ralph Tannenbaum recalled. "Many of these men were not content to stay altering someone else's pants. So they went out and...bought a few suits, and some cases...From this grew a store."[44]

Nearly all from Philadelphia, twelve Jewish families arrived in Gunnison, Utah on September 10, 1911. Motivated by the Back to the Soil movement, these Eastern

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[41]Sarah Pomerance interview by Ralph DeRose and Hynda Rudd, 24 August, 1972, Jewish Oral History Project, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Accn 1628, Box 2 Fd 2.

[42]Abe Cline interviewed by Leslie Kelen, transcript, 20 June, 1982, Jewish Community Interviews, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Accn 998, Box 1, Fd 2.

[43]I.J. Wagner interviewed by Leslie Kelen, transcript, 9 August, 1983, Jewish Community Interviews, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Accn 998, Box 6, Fd 2.

[44]Ralph Tannenbaum in *A Homeland in the West,* 343-345.

European emigrants did not come to peddle or open shops but to farm. Robert Goldberg's *Back to the Soil: The Jewish Farmers of Clarion, Utah, and Their World* details their story. Like the Industrial Removal Office and the Galveston Plan, Back to the Soil ideologists believed Jews needed to replace crowded urban life with agricultural respectability, supplanting the sweatshop with the plow. Establishing colonies throughout the United States, Canada, Argentina, and Palestine, the crusade attracted all kinds: Zionists, Socialists, and Orthodox Jews.[45]

In consultation with Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf of the National Farm School, organizers Benjamin Brown and Isaac Herbst carefully selected the Utah site for their communal colony, later named Clarion. Friends with Simon Bamberger and developer Samuel Newhouse, Krauskopf believed Salt Lake's Jewish community would support the colony. In addition, he regarded Utah's Mormon population as a definite asset. Because of their own colonization efforts and history as a persecuted people, Kraukskopf felt Mormons would be especially sympathetic. The Gunnison location had other benefits: it was near the Piute canal and the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad. Convinced of the land's fertility, the Jewish Agricultural and Colonial Association purchased the 6,085 acres tract at $46.50 an acre.[46]

The colony eventually folded in 1915. At a public sale held January 18, 1916, the Board of Land Commissioners auctioned off Clarion land. Goldberg attributes the colony's failure to lack of farming experience, and morale. Gravel loam, short planting seasons, an inadequate water supply, lack of support from Salt Lake City Jews, and

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[45]Robert Alan Goldberg, *Back to the Soil: The Jewish Farmers of Clarion, Utah, and Their World* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1986), 3, 37-39, 41-42, 49.

[46]Goldberg, *Back to the Soil,* 57, 59, 61.

money shortages did not help. A few families stayed in the area, some opening small businesses; only two families continued farming. Although most returned to city life, Clarion provided a respite from skyscrapers and pavement.[47] As colonist Isaac Friedlander wrote, "The leaves are falling; the mornings are cold, frosty....The mountain walls are hued rose and yellow. We see forms like sphinxes, artistically sculptured by nature. Riding in open wagons, we keep gazing, with heads thrown back, towards the colorful heights."[48]

At least thirty-nine of Salt Lake's Jewish population served in World War I. They came home to a growing and thriving community. During the interwar period, both congregations purchased the home of mining magnate, Colonel Enos A. Wall, 411 East South Temple. An early community center, "The Covenant House" offered a variety of social activities: Jewish history classes, drama, debate, formal dinners and parties. It became the official home of the Maimonides Club, a youth group organized May 24, 1925.[49] Ed Eisen referred to the Covenant House as "the saving factor for the Jews of the community for many, many years."[50]

On the darker side, the 1920s saw the Ku Klux Klan's nationwide resurgence. Not exempt from Klan activity, Utah's chapter formed in June 1921 concerned Jewish residents.[51] Claire Bernstein remembered a cross burning above Ogden, State Street rallies, and an office manager telling her about a new church organ purchased by Ku

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[47]Goldberg, *Back to the Soil,* 125, 67-68, 81, 83, 96, 125, 134.

[48]Isaac Friedlander in *A Homeland in the West,* 202.

[49]Brooks, *The Jews of Utah,* 175, 181.

[50]Ed Eisen in *A Homeland in the West,* 270.

[51]*Deseret News,* 6 June 1921.

Klux Klan members. "She said they were going to attend services on Sunday and have a big dedication. She said they would even come in wearing their masks," adding, "I knew it was something I would never be exited about or proud of or [want] to be a part of, ever."[52] LDS church president, Heber J. Grant warned members against persecuting Jews, preaching in the April 1921 General Conference: "By the authority of the Holy Priesthood the land of Palestine has been dedicated to the return of the Jews. With this knowledge and with this faith in God's justice, let no member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints be found persecuting the Jews."[53] Although Utah Klan activity peaked in the early 1920s, the largely Mormon population discouraged its spread. Mormons condemned the Klan as a "secret combination" of the kind referred to in the Book of Mormon. For its part, the Klan harassed southern states Mormon missionaries.[54]

The 1930s posed unique challenges for Salt Lake City Jews. Not spared the effects of the worldwide economic depression, the community responded by founding the Jewish Relief Society. Later changed to the Jewish Family Service, the society headquartered at the Louis C. and Ethel Zucker home helped destitute community members and transient Jews.[55] Especially worrisome was the Nazi rise to power and Father Coughlin's radio hate sermons. Though negligible in numbers, the local Silver Shirt cell warranted close monitoring. Wally Sandack and Roxy Rothman once attended a meeting held at the Templeton Building located on South Temple. "They wore

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[52]Claire Steres Bernstein in *Homeland in the West,* 151.

[53]*Journal History,* 4 April, 1921, 3-4, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[54]Larry R. Gerlach, *Blazing Crosses in Zion: The Ku Klux Klan in Utah* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1982), 10-11, 17, 20.

[55]Louis C. Zucker, "Jews in Utah: Utah Heritage Foundation, 1981 Lecture Series, 5 November, 1981, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Louis C. Zucker Papers, MS 485 Box 14 Fd 6.

Swastikas and were as anti-Jewish, anti-Semitic, and pro-Aryan as Hitler," Sandack recalled, "It worried us and we kept others informed of their doings."[56] On a positive note, Salt Lake citizens elected Louis Marcus as mayor while Sid Fox's KDYL radio station lifted Depression era blues while keeping Utahns informed.

As the Hitler menace increased, so too did the number of those trying to flee Germany. Some refugees proved difficult to help, viewing Salt Lake's largely Eastern European Jewish population with disdain. Especially hard to please, businessmen often expected special treatment, citing former social and financial privilege.[57] Men like Eugene Hertz were lucky. Hertz obtained an affidavit from his uncle, Adolf Odenheimer, a Salt Lake City resident. Leaving in 1939, Hertz settled in Salt Lake, pressing pants for $8.50 a week. "I was...more afraid [when I first got here] than I was [in Germany] because I was afraid somebody's...after me and [will] send me back. But it was only a short time until people told me that you can say anything you want," Hertz remembered.[58] Reminiscent of the era, University of Utah English professor Louis Zucker received the following from refugee Alfred M. Bloch. Dated 5 September, 1938, the letter speaks volumes:

> Dear Professor Zucker: I am a German Jew, former professor of Mathematics and Physics at a German high school, who lost his position five years ago through the well-known events. Through the kindness of your State Board of Education, I got a High School teacher license and could decide then to emigrate with my family to your hospitable country, hoping to be located here again in my profession. We have neither friends nor relatives in your city...Mr. Odenheimer...gave me your

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[56]Wally Sandack in *A Homeland in the West,* 244.

[57]Louis Zucker, untitled manuscript, in possession of Michael Walton, Salt Lake City, Utah, 4.

[58]Eugene Hertz interviewed by Lesslie Kelen, 24, November, 1982, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Jewish Community Interviews, Accn 998, Box 2 Fd 8.

> address and I hope you don't mind that I should like to see you.[59]

As of October 17, Bloch had not secured a teaching post, though he had reason to hope for a position at the University of Utah. In his final letter, Bloch asked Zucker to influence University of Utah President George Thomas. "I only want a start, an opportunity to prove my faculties and I am confident that, then, I shall succeed again," Bloch wrote.[60]

Of Utah's participants in World War II, 210 were Jewish. Four, Harold Glazier, Morris Romick, Sherman Pomerance, and Edward Cherenik were killed.[61] On the home front, women's organizations from both congregations hosted numerous USO dinners and parties for Jewish servicemen passing through Salt Lake. Held at the Covenant House, these functions brought the community together.[62] Rose Nord remembered a conversation with a young soldier: "'You're too young to be my mother,' he said. 'But my mother always put her arms around me and kissed me just before we went to Kol Nidre services. I don't know if I'll be here next weeks…I just wanted to put my arms around and kiss somebody's mother.'"[63]

Following the war, the Salt Lake Jewish community quite literally opened their doors to at least fifteen wartime refugee families. As chairman of the displaced persons committee, Benjamin Roe worked to rehabilitate emigrants. "My little office at Lord's

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[59]Alfred M. Bloch, Salt Lake City, to Louis C. Zucker, 5 September, 1938, Louis C. Zucker Papers, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, MS 485 Box 4 Fd 2.

[60]Alfred M. Bloch, Salt Lake City, to Louis C. Zucker, 17 October, 1938, Louis C. Zucker Papers, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, MS 485 Box 4 Fd 2.

[61]Brooks, *The Jews of Utah,* 202.

[62]Louis Zucker, "The Jews of Salt Lake City," 6.

[63]Rose Nord in *A Homeland in the West,* 296.

oftentimes took on the appearance of an employment agency instead of a suit and coat shop," Roe recalled.[64] Fred Linden detailed his refugee experiences in an autobiographical account, "A Short Story of My Life on Three Continents." Born February 14, 1895 in Brandenburg, Germany, Linden's early life paralleled that of many other German Jews. Following his service in the First World War, Linden managed and bought fabrics for a store in Essen. Due to anti-Jewish laws, the company dismissed him; Linden then started his own retail store in Berlin. Until November 9, 1938, Linden remembered enjoying a "quiet undisturbed life."[65]

After inspecting Kristal Nacht damage to his store, Linden immediately visited a travel agency and miraculously obtained passage on a ship bound for Shanghai, "an open city, requiring no visas." Leaving Genoa Italy on the *Giulio Cesare,* the Lindens sailed the Mediterranean, passed through the Suez Canal, Indian Ocean, and the Straits of Malacca, eventually docking in Shanghai where they waited out the war, not reaching the United States until August 1947. Upon their arrival in San Francisco, the United Service for New Americans provided the family with a hotel room, meeting with Linden the following day. "I mentioned the American consul in Shanghai had warned us in several meetings not to go East—too crowded and hard to find a job." Fred desired to settle in a smaller city located in the Western United States. Word came from Salt Lake City informing the United Service they could help Linden and his wife. On September 26, two representatives from the community met the Lindens at the train station, driving them

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[64]Ben M. Roe, *A Blend of the Two: An Autobiography* ed. James M. Rock (Salt Lake City: Friends of the University of Utah Library, 1978), 90.

[65]Fred Linden, "A Short Story of My life on three Continents," August, 1983, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Jewish Community Interviews, Accn 998 Box 3 Fd 1, 1-5.

to a temporary apartment. Linden eventually secured work at ZCMI while his wife opened a dressmaking and alterations shop.[66]

"There probably always were some Zionists in Salt Lake City since the first Congress in Basel in 1897," Louis Zucker remarked. Mirroring national trends, Zionist activity peaked during and after the war years. In 1943, the Salt Lake City Hadassah chapter reorganized; three years later a chapter of the Zionist Organization of America formed.[67] In addition to supporting Israel, during the postwar years the James L. White Community center replaced the Covenant House. Contributions helped establish University of Utah's Judaic studies library, increasing cultural awareness. Talk about merging the two synagogues reflected changing community patterns and organization.[68]

Mormon-Jewish relations aside, in many respects Salt Lake's Jewish Community resembled other communities of comparable size scattered throughout the United States. Those from Eastern Europe followed earlier German Jewish populations. Both groups opened shops and otherwise impacted Salt Lake's economic scene, relying on family or other networks. As was the case elsewhere, two congregations, Reform and Orthodox or Conservative emerged, reflecting early German-Eastern European divide. Finally the community's acceptance of Zionism followed national trends. Historic communal dynamics demonstrate the diverse experience of Jews in the West.

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[66]Linden, "A Short Story," 5-7, 10-12.

[67]Louis Zucker, "Recollections and Observations," in *The History of the Jews in Utah and Idaho* by Juanita Brooks (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1973), 211; Hadassah Minutes, 24 February, 1943, minutes in possession of Helene Cuomo, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[68]Stone, *A Homeland in the West,* 17.

CHAPTER 2

SPREADING THE MISSION: SALT LAKE CITY ZIONIST LEADERS

Initially, Zionist arguments did not impress Joel Shapiro. Though part of the contingent liberating Dachau, he recalled being "so 100% American red, white, and blue [that]...the ... Jewish state was somewhat confusing to me." These feelings lasted about a year, during which time Shapiro "realized the creation of the state of Israel...changed the position of the American Jew within the American society," helping the community gain a new sense of "dignity... [and] sociological strength." [1] During these same years, University of Utah English professor Louis Zucker involved Shapiro in Zionist activity. "He seized upon me, I guess," Joel commented. "It was an interesting relationship. He would come downtown...and drop into the store and we'd chat...He drew me into the activities that he was interested in."[2] Eventually, Shapiro would put in thirty to forty hours a week in volunteer and community work.[3]

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[1]Joel B. Shapiro, interview by Leslie Kelen, 15 June, 1982, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Jewish Community Interviews, Accn 998, Box 5, Fd 1.

[2]Joel B. Shapiro, interview by Rebecca Andersen, 26 June, 2007, transcript in possession of Rebecca Andersen.

[3]Joel B. Shaprio, interview by Leslie Kelen, 15 June, 1982.

Zionism succeeded in the United States because it effectively adopted American ideals, its mission seeking the advancement of humanity while preserving the Jewish people and culture in an independent state.[4] Conservative circles added a religious twist to an otherwise secular movement, stressing Palestine's role as a spiritual center.[5] Capable leaders communicated these concepts to the Jewish and non-Jewish public. David Truman defines a leader as one "who initiates ...actions—verbal or otherwise—to which the others in the group respond." This consistent relationship is based more upon circumstance and timing than any particular personality trait. Indeed, "the group, reflecting the situation in which it operates, exerts in the long run a control over the fortunes of aspiring leaders," Truman points out.[6]

This chapter first explores the Salt Lake Jewish Community's pre and post war attitudes towards Zionism, looking at the role leadership played in this change. Though their message never changed, the influence exercised by Salt Lake City Zionist leaders grew as the community responded to genocide reports. In addition to religious leaders Rabbis Fink and Cardon, Louis Zucker galvanized Salt Lake Zionist activity, spreading the movement's unique mission motif on and off the university campus.

In recalling pre-war community dynamics, Rose Arnovitz noted one did not mention Zionism "in polite society," adding many believed the movement to be un-American. "[Zionism] didn't mean that you were going... [to] forsake this country....It

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[4]Allon Gal, "The Mission Motif in American Zionism," 363.

[5]Michael Meyer, "American Reform Judaism and Zionism," 63.

[6]David Truman, *Governmental Process,* 189-190.

meant that you believe[d] that there should be a Jewish state ....Somehow, they just couldn't see that," she clarified.[7] Though a teenager at the time, Joel Shapiro remembers a similar attitude among the immigrant generation: "In the 1930s...everybody was trying to be 100% American...We wanted to get along."[8] With only a few supporters, Zionism struggled.

The short-lived *Salt Lake Jewish News* contained rousing editorials favoring Zionism. Commenting on the German situation, Rabbi Joseph E. Krikstein of Congregation Montefiore wrote: "The sufferings of our brethren in Germany will not have been in vain, if it will effect a rapid mass conversion of the Jew to Zionism," adding that only a Jewish homeland in Palestine offered the only "feasible realistic solution of the problem of three million superfluous, drifting Jewish people in Eastern and Central Europe." Krikstein noted the Salt Lake Jewish Community's antipathy regarding the Zionist cause. "Not a single National Fund Box or stamp or flag day or flower day," he lamented, calling for the creation of a Zionist youth organization "dedicated to do the type of work...which only youth, with its energy and idealism, can properly perform!"[9]

In a particularly combative editorial, Louis Zucker attacked "liberal" Jews whose "broadmindedness" threatened national undoing. "The Jew, once he is allowed to participate in the culture of the land, strains every nerve to become a ... duplicate of his

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[7]Rose and Michael Arnovitz interviewed by Leslie Kelen, 30 November, 1982, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections Jewish Community Interviews, Accn 998 Box 1 Fd 3.

[8]Joel Shapiro, interview by Rebecca Andersen, 26 June, 2007.

[9]*Salt Lake Jewish News* 7 July 1933, Special Collections Salt Lake City Public Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

gentile neighbors," Zucker noted. Though charities met Jewish needs at home and abroad, such philanthropy fell short when it did not contribute to a Jewish cultural revival. "To devote attention to Jewish interests means, our people think, to sacrifice broadmindedness," Zucker pointed out, adding that no Jew needed "to sacrifice the non-Jewish to the Jewish, or vice versa." Broadmindedness simply meant"sympathy towards men's ways, cultures, faiths, etc.," including "one's own heritage."[10]

The *Jewish News* reported on the July 19, 1933 establishment of the Salt Lake Zionist Organization of America branch (ZOA). Rabbi Kirkstein served as temporary chairman with Simon Shapiro, treasurer, and Norman Nathan, secretary. At the Newhouse Hotel inaugural meeting, Lester Rich accompanied by Harry Hayden and H. Donald Rothman presented plans for organizing Masada, a Zionist youth group. Supposedly, "more than a score of young men and women" desired membership. "Long dormant, this renewal of Zionism in Salt Lake is heralded by local community chiefs as a complete rebirth of the Holy Land movement here," the article announced.[11] A premature start, the ZOA's quiet death necessitated its 1945 resuscitation.[12] Likewise, though initially founded in 1923, Salt Lake City's Hadassah chapter also dwindled during these years, reorganizing some twenty years later.[13]

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[10]*Salt Lake Jewish News,* 21 July, 1933.

[11] *Salt Lake Jewish News,* 21 July, 1933.

[12]*Salt Lake Tribune,*16 March, 1945.

[13]*Salt Lake Tribune* 7 December, 1923.

Not surprisingly, Zionism and the Jewish plight received close attention from the LDS church. Members donated liberally during the 1920 relief campaign for Jews affected by wartime ravages.[14] That same year, a Jewish agricultural commission from Palestine visited Utah, investigating the state's dry farming techniques. Two years later, Church commissioner of education and dry farming expert Dr. John A. Widtsoe along with Brigham Young University president Dr. F.S. Harris shared agricultural research with Zionist leaders in Palestine. "The information is to be redistributed to various Zionist experiment stations where it will be applied to tests…made throughout Palestine," the *Deseret News* reported.[15] Widtsoe would later inspect Palestine's agricultural progress himself during a 1934 visit.[16] In December 1923, the church donated $1,000 to the Palestine Foundation, "for the restoration of Palestine."[17] After all, church leaders perceived Zionist efforts to be a "sign of the times."[18]

Reflecting trends across the United States, Conservative Montefiore with its Eastern European immigrants supported Zionism; established Reform B'nai Israel had little to do with the movement until the post war years. The lack of communication between the two congregations is legendary. [19] Nationwide, Zionism found an especially

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[14]*Journal History* 10 April, 1920, 3, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[15]*Deseret News* 6 September, 1922.

[16]*Journal History,* 23 March, 1934, 3.

[17]*Journal History* 15 December, 1923, 31.

[18]*Journal History* 23 June, 1934.

[19]Fred Tannenbaum interviewed by Rebecca Andersen, 25 June, 2007, transcript in possession of Rebecca Andersen.

safe haven among Conservative Judaism; by the 1920s, American Zionist leadership came almost exclusively from within the Conservative camp. Conservatism sought to combine tradition and contemporary American society while avoiding assimilation. According to Yonathan Shapiro, "Zionism was to cement the Jewish element in the life of the American Jew, since it could provide an ideology to justify the preservation of Jewish culture in accord with modern thinking."[20]

Early Zionist supporters within Salt Lake's Jewish community generally received their initial exposure to the movement's ideology outside Utah. The exception may have been Nathan Rosenblatt who arrived in Utah as early as 1889. Motivated by the need to ameliorate Jewish suffering, Joseph Rosenblatt noted his father was the family's first Zionist, passing the tradition on to his sons.[21] "We had relatives [in Palestine] who had a daughter with a certain kind of skin disease...and she needed certain medicines that we could get here that they couldn't get...We used to send those medicines over to them," granddaughter Esther Landa remembered.[22]

Growing up in Cleveland, Rose Arnovitz remembered hearing Rabbi Abba Hilell Silver: "He was such a joy to listen to, you were fortunate if you got...a...seat."[23] In addition to her Conservative Jewish upbringing, Rose's family often discussed Zionism

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[20]Yonathan Shapiro, *Leadership of the American Zionist Organization, 1897-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 40.

[21]Joseph Rosenblatt, interviewed by Leslie Kelen 21 May, 1982, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Jewish Community Interviews Accn 998 Box 4 Fd 6.

[22]Esther Landa interviewed by Rebecca Andersen, 29 June, 2007, transcript in possession of Rebecca Andersen.

[23]Rose and Michael Arnovitz, interviewed by Leslie Kelen, 30 November, 1982, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Jewish Community Interviews, Accn 998 Box 1 Fd 3.

as "a homeland for people who wanted to go there....If you didn't want to go there, then you supported the people who did."[24] Rose brought these ideas with her when she moved to Salt Lake as a bride.

Normon Nathan became interested in Zionism while living in Gary, Indiana, working for his brother-in-law. Returning to Salt Lake City in 1926, Nathan visited with Rabbi Krickstein about the movement's particulars. After studying the issues, Nathan believed Zionism best combated anti-Semitism, bringing him and other Jews needed dignity and respect. "It stimulate[d] my belief in my God and my religion," Nathan explained, adding: "I could not, and would not stand for...underhanded persecution of my people, or any other people for that matter."[25]

Fred Tannenbaum received a scholarship to attend a West Coast Zionist camp, Brandeis, following his release from military service. "At that time, I was educated and far better informed about what was going on. The various camps helped quite a bit."[26] Others like Benjamin Roe got their first taste of Zionism in the Old World. Born in Seirijai, Russia, Roe's father was both an Orthodox Jew and a Zionist. "My father...preached the philosophy of a homeland for the Jews as the only solution to the problem of the Jewish people," Roe wrote in his memoirs.[27] Following his father's death, twelve-year-old Ben longed to leave for Palestine. Cooler heads prevailed. "My mother's

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[24]Rose Arnovitz, interviewed by Leslie Kelen, 16 March, 1983, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Jewish Community Interviews, Accn 998 Box 1 Fd 4.

[25]Normon Nathan, interviewed by Leslie Kelen, 17 February, 1983, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Jewish Community Interviews, Accn 998 Box 3 Fd 8.

[26]Fred Tannenbaum, interviewed by Rebecca Andersen, 25 June, 2007.

[27]Benjamin Roe, *A Blend of the Two,* 1.

mature, practical mind influenced me toward America where I had uncles, aunts, and my older brother Harry to help me," Roe recalled. "She won out, but my love for Zion never subsided."[28]

As the Holocaust's magnitude became known, feelings about a Jewish nation state dramatically changed. Once Israel became a reality, the community jumped on the Zionist "bandwagon." "That's when...the large contributions came in," Michael Arnovitz noted.[29] During these years prominent lawyer James L. White joined in the whirlwind of fundraising activity. Though White supported the new state, Wally Syndak commented, "He was interested in...the birth of Israel. But he was a good American citizen."[30] White's reaction was typical. As Joel Shapiro noted, most saw Israel as "a Jewish State for somebody else," particularly for Holocaust refugees. "People shied away from [saying] 'I'm a Zionist.' I never said I'm a Zionist. I'm supporting Israel," Shaprio clarified.[31] Nevertheless, in a city still possessing restrictive social and athletic clubs, Israel gave Salt Lake Jews a new sense of identity, challenging stereotypical images of the Jewish scholar and shopkeeper.[32]

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[28]Benjamin Roe, *A Blend of the Two*, 21.

[29]Michael and Rose Arnovitz, interviewed by Leslie Kelen 30 November, 1982, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections Jewish Community Interviews Accn 998 Box 1 Fd 3.

[30] Wally Syndak interviewed by Leslie Kelen 22 June, 1982, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections Jewish Community Interviews Accn 998 Box 4 Fd 8.

[31]Joel Shapiro interviewed by Rebecca Andersen 26 June, 2007.

[32]Joel Shapiro interviewed by Leslie Kelen 16 June, 1982, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections Jewish Community Interviews, Accn 998 Box 5 Fd 1.

By 1948, "internal and external circumstances" had changed within Salt Lake's Jewish community, enabling those who had previously advocated Zionist goals and aims to step forward into leadership positions.[33] Each understood Zionism in terms of Allon Gal and Michael Meyer's "mission motif." While little is known about Rabbi Adolph H. Fink's time at B'nai Israel, he sympathized with the Zionist mission. As Rabbi at Temple Emanu-El in Spokane, Washington, Fink traveled to Palestine. In preparation for his 1937 trip, he corresponded with none other than Stephen Wiese, asking Wiese for letters of introduction to principal Zionist leaders in London and Paris.[34] In a report describing his time in Palestine, Rabbi Fink exclaimed:

> It is as if all the marvels of the machine age have been picked up and carted across the Atlantic Ocean to be deposited in the midst of the Arabian Desert. Tel Aviv is the most modern city in the world today. Schools of law and medicine have been established. The dead Hebrew language has been picked out of the Bible and prayer books and revived.[35]

Despite his glowing report, in 1942, Rabbi Fink returned a card indicating support behind a rabbinical statement on Zionism, Judaism, and Americanism with the following note: "While I heartily disapprove of the action of the 'non Zionist' Rabbis, there are elements in your statement that I am not willing to endorse."[36]

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[33]David Truman, *The Governmental Process,* 190.

[34]Adolph H. Fink, Spokane, to Rabbi Stephen S. Wiese, 25 February, 1937,University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Louis C. Zucker Papers, Personal Correspondence MS 485 Box 19 Fd 1.

[35]Adolph H. Fink in an unknown newspaper clipping, 21 October, 1937, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Louis C. Zucker Papers, Personal Correspondence MS 485 Box 19 Fd 4.

[36]Adolph H. Fink, Spokane, to Philip S. Bernstein, October 1942, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Louis C. Zucker Papers, Personal Correspondence MS 485 Box 19 fd 2.

Active both within and without the Jewish community, considerably more is known about Montefiore's Rabbi E. Louis Cardon. Particularly well-loved by his congregation, Cardon supported Zionist related activities, encouraging others to do the same through talks and messages in the synagogue bulletin. Sadie Appleman remembered the Cardon as the "most marvelous man we ever had." "He brought in a lot of religion which was beautiful," Sadie added, noting "whatever he did went over big."[37] Rose Arnovitz recalled the Chicago rabbi's kindness and warmth: "He...took an interest in everybody. He tried to see who he could help. His home was open to all."[38]

With its numerous news paper clippings and other informative articles, Rabbi Cardon's scrapbook is indicative of his philosophy regarding a Jewish state. He kept a copy of the May 14, 1948 declaration announcing Israel's creation. A succinct summation of Zionist mission ideology, the declaration justified the existence of a Jewish state: "Impelled by...historic association, Jews...reclaimed the wilderness, revived their language, built cities...and established a vigorous ever-growing community...They brought the blessings of progress to all inhabitants of the country."[39] The Suez Canal crisis particularly concerned Cardon because it threatened Israel's economic well-being; he discussed the topic at a Montefiore sisterhood meeting. According to a February 11,

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[37]Sadie Arnovitz Appleman interview by Leslie Kelen 19 May, 1982, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections Jewish Community Interviews, Accn 998 Box 1 Fd 2.

[38]Michael and Rose Arnovitz interview by Leslie Kelen 30 November, 1982, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections Jewish Community Interviews, Accn 998 Box 1 Fd 3.

[39]Scrapbook: Rabbi E Louis Cardon, News Clippings, 1955-1958, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Congregation Montefiore MS 224 Bx 14 Fd 12.

1957 article from *The Casper Tribune Herald,* Rabbi Cardon addressed the local Rotary Club, justifying France and England's actions against Egyptian president Nasar.[40]

Louis Cardon often used his synagogue newsletter column, "From the Rabbi's Desk," to further the Zionist mission. In the February 1948 issue, Cardon commented on the United States arms embargo to Palestine Jews, advocating a massive letter writing campaign censuring the President's foreign policy. "We dare not allow the pledged word to the Jew be violated," he voiced, "Our honor is at stake, as is the fulfillment of our dream of the ages." "Pledges are a promise of life; cash is life itself...We must manifest our solidarity with the Yishuv in Palestine by increased subscriptions to the Salt Lake City Welfare Fund...Your contribution must be sacrificial," Cardon clamored three months later. As chairman of the 1954 Welfare Fund drive, Rabbi Cardon's rhetoric remained unchanged: "When Jews are starving; when children are rotting in concentration camps...it is easy for us to understand their needs and rally to their cause," he expressed in a May 10, 1954 campaign kick-off letter, "Yet...our situation is much more precarious and commands our immediate concern and attention....Sincere effort on our part will protect us and preserve the land of Israel."[41] Cardon presented the Zionist mission as one insuring Jewish survival. The futures of Israel and Diaspora Judaism were inseparably connected; liberal donations to the cause signified one's dedication to lifting the human condition.

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[40]Scrapbook: Rabbi E. Louis Cardon, News Clippings, 1955-1958, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Congregation Montefiore MS 224 Bx 14 Fds 11, 13.

[41]Scrapbook: Rabbi E. Louis Cardon, Announcements and Bulletins, 1948-1960, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Congregation Montefiore MS 224 Box 14 Fd 14.

"The Zionist movement was, basically, Louis Zucker," Joel Shapiro stated.[42] University of Utah's first Jewish professor, Louis Zucker arrived in 1928. The newly graduated University of Wisconsin PhD joined the English department, teaching courses in English Literature and later Jewish Studies. Originally from Philadelphia, the Zuckers knew little of Mormon Zion. They willingly learned about their new neighbors, many of whom became lifelong friends. Zucker reminisced about his first days in Salt Lake: ""I walked out on Main Street, and Rabbi Gordon...showed us around East South Temple....The Angel Moroni blowing his good tidings southeastward—I think I'll remember him in my dreams when I am dead."[43]

While walking along a Philadelphia street, Salt Lake's Zionist leader accidently learned about the ideology and movement. Pausing to pick up a few papers from the gutter, Zucker discovered a partial translation of Leon Pinsker's *Auto-Emancipation.* The find changed young Zuker's life. "I picked up this piece of paper out of the gutter, which is a lifetime habit of mine, and I read it, just the one page. This was new thinking and about something new." Turn-of-the-century Philadelphia was a good place to learn about Zionism. Riding the wake of Herzl's first Zionist Congress, Zucker and his friends heard key Zionist thinkers: Shmaria Levine, Nahum Skalof, and Louis Brandies. As a university student, Zucker helped organize a Zionist student group. "We had inspiring Zionist speakers come through the campus, and I was usually there to drink it all in."

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[42]Joel Shapiro interviewed by Leslie Kelen, 9 June, 1982, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Jewish Community Interviews Accn 998 Box 5 Fd 1.

[43]"Louis Clement Zucker," unknown author, copy in possession of Joel Shapiro, Salt Lake City, Utah; Louis C. Zucker, "A Jew in Zion," *Sunstone,* September-October, 1981, 36.

Zucker's commitment to the movement deepened during his years at Wisconsin, "a nucleus of intelligent Zionists who understood what Zionism was about." By the time Zucker relocated to Utah, his Zionist education was complete.[44]

"Louie played a completely different role than most of us ordinary people," Joel Shapiro commented, "Louie was a teacher. Louie had a mission...not only to teach English in the English department...he was also a teacher, a carrier of what he saw as Jewish people and Jewish culture."[45] As a cultural pluralist, Zucker's Zionism encompassed all aspects of Jewish culture and religion. In accepting Israel's 1969 State of Israel Bond Award, Zucker stated: "We are helping Israel. But we need Israel," noting, "Israel [is the] foundation of life for Jewish culture, Jewish civilization, [and] Hebrew language."[46] About his mentor, Shapiro stressed: "Louis Zucker is a product of American Opportunity, but he...never yielded to the view that Jews in the melting pot of America should melt away."[47]

In the immediate post-war years, those disturbed by Holocaust reports, listened to Louis Zucker. Though "'he did not suffer fools gladly,'" his controversial and abrasive personality established him as a leader. Superficiality annoyed Zucker. "He was difficult, but he was pure. That is to say, his insights were absolutely on target," Joel Shapiro

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[44]Louis Zucker interviewed by Ralph DeRose and Hynda Rudd, 1 September, 1972, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Jewish Oral History Project Accn 1629 Box 2 Fd 11.

[45]Joel Shapiro interview by Leslie Kelen, 25 May, 1982, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Jewish Community Interviews Accn 998 Box 5 Fd 1.

[46]Louis Zucker acceptance speech at Testimonial Dinner, sponsored by Israel Bonds, 5 October, 1969, 5, October, 1969, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Louis C. Zucker Papers MS 485 Box 14 Fd 7.

[47]Joel Shapiro, remarks at the Testimonial Dinner, sponsored by Israel Bonds, 5 October, 1969.

remembered.[48] Always questioning motives, Zucker constantly asked his associates to reevaluate themselves. "Yes...he has asked us to examine who we are. And sometimes he has made us uncomfortable. But then...how else would you know it was Louis Zucker?" Shapiro quipped while honoring Zucker at the 1969 Israel Bonds dinner.[49]

Zucker's interest in and concern for the Land of Israel lay at the heart of "his emotional and intellectual structure." [50] Drawing upon his extensive knowledge of Jewish culture and history, Zucker articulated Israel's importance to American Jews. [51] The community clearly respected his intellectual stature. "Zucker was always the symbol of non-financial success," Ralph Tannenbaum pointed out, "Here was a man who had intellectual success." [52]

In 1946, Zucker re-organized Salt Lake's Zionist Organization of America chapter. Recruiting like-minded individuals to the cause, he and others collected membership dues, influenced political leaders, and raised money. It may have been the first time the Jewish community spoke out on political issues.[53] Joel Shapiro remembers

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[48]Joel Shapiro interviewed by Rebecca Andersen, 26 June, 2007, transcript in possession of Rebecca Andersen.

[49]Joel Shapiro remarks given at the Testimonial Dinner, sponsored by Israel Bonds, 5 October, 1969.

[50]Joel Shapiro remarks given at the Testimonial Dinner, sponsored by Israel Bonds, 5 October, 1969.

[51]Ralph Tannenbaum interviewed by Leslie Kelen 24 January, 1983, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Jewish Community Interviews Accn 998 Box 5 Fd 8.

[52]Ralph Tannenbaum interviewed by Leslie Kelen 24 January, 1983, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Jewish Community Interviews Accn 998 Box 5 Fd 8.

[53]Joel Shapiro interviewed by Leslie Kelen 9 June, 1982, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Jewish Community Interviews, Accn 998 Box 5 Fd 1.

attending dinners and meetings, writing letters, all at Zucker's biding.[54] "The ZOA was largely…a question of numbers on a role," Ralph Tannenbaum explained. Only an active core took part in the telegram and letter writing campaigns. At the time of Israel's Declaration of Independence, Zucker organized letter and telegram writing campaigns urging President Truman and other members of Congress to support Israel. "That's the sort of thing we did," Tannenbaum noted.[55]

Zucker worked extensively behind the scenes, contacting LDS officials and writing letters of his own. Zucker, Benjamin Roe, Simon and Joel Shapiro drafted a letter to LDS church president, George Albert Smith, asking for church backing behind the UN struggle for a Jewish state. A few months later, President Smith affirmed Zucker of Church support.[56] In the October 1948 General Conference, President Smith asked members to remember Jerusalem and the Jewish people. "Think of Jerusalem…Think of the predicament of that great people who have maintained their integrity as a nation, as individuals, as a race, as few others in the world have done…see how pitiable their situation is now," cautioning Latter-day Saints against "condemning a nation, condemning all those people."[57] Two years later, Ezra Taft Benson referred to Israel's creation as a "miraculous drama," fulfilling ancient prophecy. "The Jews are returning as

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[54]Joel Shapiro interview by Leslie Kelen, 15 June, 1982, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Jewish Community Interviews Accn 998 Box 5 Fd 1.

[55]Ralph Tannenbaum interview by Leslie Kelen, 24 January, 1983, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Jewish Community Interviews Accn 998 Box 5 Fd 8.

[56]Louis C. Zucker, untitled typescript, in possession of Michael Walton, Salt Lake City, Utah, 8.

[57]George Albert Smith, Conference Report, Priesthood Session, 2 October, 1948, 183-184, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

one of the events of the last days," he emphasized, "Resources are being built up through reclamation, rehabilitation, and modernization."[58] Working quietly, the Church maintained its favorable position regarding the Jewish homeland.[59]

Louis Zucker wrote government officials about Zionist goals and objectives. For instance, in December 1953 and January 1954, Zucker sent summaries of Carl Hermann Voss's "The Palestine Problem Today: Israel and its Neighbors" to Senators Wallace Bennett and Arthur V. Watkins and Utah Governor, J. Bracken Lee. "As between Israel and the Arab League," Zucker wrote Bennett, "I only desire, as spokesman for the Utah Zionists, that both sides be heard with an equally open mind."[60] Earlier in 1953, Bennett assured Zucker: "I voted to sustain the Committee in every possible amendment except one, which was unimportant from your point of view."[61]

From Zionist organizations and other Israeli leaders, Zucker obtained information and appreciation. In 1955, director of the American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs, I.L. Kenen sent a form letter requesting community leaders direct a letter writing campaign. In voicing concern about the Mutual Security Program, writers needed to "stress the need for continuing economic and technical assistance programs in the Near East, using the arguments which we have outlined for you in our previous memoranda

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[58]Ezra Taft Benson, Conference Report, April, 1950, 71,77, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[59]Joel Shapiro, interview by Rebecca Andersen, 26 June, 2007.

[60] Louis C. Zucker, Salt Lake City, to Wallace F. Bennett, 28 December, 1953, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Louis C. Zucker Papers, Personal Correspondence MS 485 Box4 Fd 6.

[61]Wallace F. Bennett, Washington, to Louis Zucker, 1 August, 1953, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Louis C. Zucker Papers, Personal Correspondence, MS 485 Box 4 Fd 6.

and Reports." "Please send us copies of any letters and telegrams that you send and any replies that you receive," Kenen directed.[62] Albert Einstein thanked Zucker for supporting Hebrew University. "Your coming to Princeton at my invitation, and your generous response to my appeal to help end the homelessness of the University...were a source of gratification and encouragement...I sincerely hope...that you will do all in your power to have your friends and associates duplicate...the splendid example you have set."[63] From Israeli Ambassador Michael Comay, Zucker received the following: "I would...like to...tell you how much I appreciated all your kindness and attention...I was greatly impressed and heartened by the courage and tenacity with which you defend Israel's interests on the Campus."[64]

"The message of Israel—the Land and the People—has been well stated by the hand and from the heart of Dr. Louis Zucker." Zucker's activities within Salt Lake's Jewish community support Joel Shapiro's commendation.[65] Along with his teaching responsibilities, in 1946, Zucker formed University of Utah's Hillel Counselorship, serving as the organization's first Counselor.[66] Serving on numerous community committees and projects, he often challenged colleagues to look beyond financial

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[62] I.L. Kenen to Louis Zucker, 23 June, 1955, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Louis C. Zucker papers Personal Correspondence, Box 4 Fd 7.

[63] Albert Einstein to Louis Zucker, 12 May, 1954, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Louis C. Zucker papers, Personal Correspondence, Box 4 Fd 6.

[64]Michael Comay to Louis Zucker, 25 April, 1963, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Louis C. Zucker papers, Personal Correspondence, Box 4 Fd 10.

[65]Joel Shapiro, remarks at the Testimonial Dinner, sponsored by Israel Bonds, 5 October, 1969.

[66]Joel Shapiro, remarks at the Testimonial Dinners, sponsored by Israel Bonds, 5 October, 1969.

concerns. "How, he would ask, is a Board seemingly concerned only with finances going to insure the existence of a people hood in the next generations?" Shapiro recalled.[67]

A particularly precious project, Zucker conceived and created a Jewish studies chair and library. With the cooperation of university president, A. Ray Olpin, the community launched its first fund raiser in 1962. Selected by the Library of Congress as one of 20 universities receiving Israeli books and journals, three years later, the Judaica Library Association raised over $50,000.[68] "Commitment to our ancestral culture is our own private responsibility," Louis Zucker explained, "The purpose of the Judaic Studies at the University is to promote...the knowledge and appreciation of every form of expression of the Jewish genius, as Humanities." "The materials accumulating in the University Library and the Judaics faculty constitute a very special resource for the Jewish community," he added.[69]

In 1962, Zucker collaborated with prominent Utah composer and recently retired University of Utah Music Department chair, Leroy J. Robertson to create an arrangement of Israel's national anthem, *Hatikvah.* Zucker provided an English translation, Robertson a suitable score. Recorded by Columbia Records and under Eugene Ormandy's direction, the Philadelphia Orchestra and Mormon Tabernacle Choir performed the Zucker-Robertson adaption. Then serving as General Music Committee Chair for the LDS

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[67]Joel Shapiro, remarks honoring Louis C. Zucker as the Centennial Honoree, copy in possession of Joel Shapiro, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[68]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 9 January, 1966.

[69]Louis Zucker, "The Jews of Salt Lake City: Our Background," unpublished manuscript, copy in possession of Michael Walton, Salt Lake City, Utah, 12.

Church, Robertson remarked that "he felt 'quite at home doing the score,'" adding, "My finest teachers, among them Hugh Leichentritt and Ernst Bloch, have been Jews, and in the promotion and performance of my compositions I have had my greatest support from Jewish artists and conductors."[70]

Forever prodding and probing, Louis Zucker bridged religious communities, visiting countless Mormon wards and other denominations. "Mormons... are in the habit of magnifying similarities between Judaism and Mormonism and etherealizing the differences into shadow. We should have a clearer and truer knowledge of each other," Zucker commented. With the exception of one well-meaning Mormon woman who told Zucker "the Lord would yet soften [his] heart of stone," most welcomed his insights.[71] Through his activities Louis Zucker made sure everyone knew what it meant to be Jewish.[72] As a "Positive Jew," he comprehended Jewish history and culture on both the emotional and intellectual levels.[73] Forever preaching the Jewish Zion, Zucker unfolded Judaism's complexities, inviting others to discover its many paths.[74]

Prior to the Second World War, Salt Lake's isolated Jewish community expressed little Zionist sympathy. Although eager to aid their foreign brothers, many equated

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[70]*American Zionist,* March-April, 1963; Undated newspaper clipping, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Louis C. Zucker Papers, Box 14 Fd 8.

[71]Louis Zucker, "A Jew in Zion," 41-42.

[72]Joel Shapiro, remarks honoring Louis C. Zucker as the Centennial Honoree, copy in possession of Joel Shapiro, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[73]Joel Shapiro, remarks honoring Louis C. Zucker as the Centennial Honoree.

[74]Joel Shapiro, reflections at the memorial for Louis Zucker, 23 March, 1982, notes in possession of Joel Shapiro, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Zionism with un-Americanism, ever sensitive to the dual loyalty "bugaboo." Once the Holocaust's magnitude and the displaced persons' desperate condition became known, the community listened to the Zionist message advocated by leaders like Rabbi Cardon and Louis Zucker. They believed a Jewish state would best solve the DP dilemma. Louis Zucker attempted to expand the community's Zionist vision; he sought to build a Jewish community aware of its historical and cultural roots; in addition to a haven for homeless, war-torn refugees, Israel served as Judaism's cultural center. While Zucker's success in this effort cannot be measured, he left a formidable legacy: he generated the Zionist Organization of America, established a Jewish studies chair and library, and otherwise served as Salt Lake's "Jew-in-residence."[75]

[75]Joel Shapiro, remarks honoring Louis Zucker as the Centennial Honoree.

CHAPTER 3

"THERE BEING NO FURTHER BUSINESS, THE MEETING WAS ADJOURNED:" SALT LAKE CITY'S HADASSAH CHAPTER

On February 23, 1943, National Hadassah board member Julia Dushkin and twenty-one other Salt Lake City women met at Hotel Utah to create a local chapter of the women's Zionist organization; they held their first meeting the following afternoon where Dushkin explained Hadassah's efforts to "make the Holy Land a fit place for our people to live." Though "gentle in face and voice, unassuming in manner," Dushkin sounded like "a front-line warrior for a better world." Her time living in Palestine overseeing Hadassah health, educational, and welfare projects made for persuasive speaking.[1] "Sufficient to say that after hearing this inspiring message, almost all who attended...were most eager to join," the minutes state.[2] A month prior to the first meeting, Hattie Feldman wrote Zip Szold, chairman of Hadassah's National Organization Committee; her letter described the Salt Lake's Jewish Community organizational make-up. "From what you write, it seems to me that the time is appropriate for organizing a chapter of *Hadassah* in your community," Szold replied. "I am sending you...material for the organization of a new chapter," she added, "Please don't be overwhelmed by our

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[1] *Salt Lake Tribune,* 24 February, 1943; Hadassah Minutes, 24 Febrary, 1943, minutes in possession of Helene Cuomo, Salt Lake City.

[2]Hadassah Minutes, 24 February, 1943, minutes in possession of Helene Cuomo, Salt Lake City, Utah.

organization manual. We...consider it a textbook which the presidents and all activity chairmen use as their reference throughout the year."[3]

Soon after the initial meeting, the new chapter boasted 110 charter members, including Ogden women. Hattie Feldman served as president with Nettie Susman and May Baer as first and second vice presidents. Officers included Julia Money, recording secretary, Rose Arnovitz, corresponding secretary, treasurer, Sadie Tannenbaum, and parliamentarian, Amy Schiller.[4] During the first year, the fledging organization tripled its donation quota for Palestine reclamation projects.[5] Salt Lake's Hadassah history and work began.

In his article, "The Mission Motif in American Zionism," Allon Gal specifically discussed Hadassah as an organization exemplifying American Zionism's "'higher' social and ethical goals."[6] In comparison with other Zionist groups facing post-1948 membership ups and downs, Hadassah enjoyed unique success. Unlike the ZOA's political programs, Hadassah emphasized Jewish well-being.[7] "The more Americanized a Zionist organization is, the more valid its workings are for American Jewry," Gal noted, "Hadassah...reflected the specific nature of American Zionism on two levels, ideological

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[3]Mrs. Robert (Zip) Szold to Hattie Feldman, 28 January, 1943, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938, Box 1 Fd. 5.

[4]Hadassah Minutes, 24 Feburary, 1943, minutes in possession of Helene Cuomo, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[5]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 30 April, 1944.

[6]Allon Gal, "The Mission Motif in American Zionism," 363, 371.

[7]Deborah E. Lipstadt, "The History of American Zionist Organizations: An Ideological and Functional Analysis," in *Jewish American Voluntary Organizations,* ed. Michael N. Dobkowski (Westport, Connecticut: Green wood Press, 1986), 538.

and organizational." Hadassah's charity work and democratic character expressed American values. Emphasizing its distinctly American character, Hadassah remained outside Israeli politics.[8] Through educational and fundraising activities, Salt Lake Hadassah articulated American Zionism's mission. As members of the city's central Zionist organization, "Hadassah ladies" involved the entire community in their many projects, transforming "passive, if amiable, spectators into collaborators in the up building of Palestine."[9]

Born in 1860 to Baltimore's Reform Rabbi Benjamin Szold and Sophie Schaar Szold, Hadassah founder Henrietta Szold grew up in an environment of learning and relative comfort. A participant in Hungary's 1848 revolution, Henrietta's father spoke out against slavery and all forms of racial inequality, passing his liberal views onto his perceptive daughter. As a young woman, Henrietta taught English to recently arrived Russian Jews, establishing the Russian Night School in 1889. While secretary and later editor and writer for the Jewish Publication Society of Philadelphia, Szold learned about Theodor's Herzl's revolutionary First Zionist Congress, avidly reading Zionist philosophy and following Jewish settlement activity in Palestine.[10]

In 1907, at the invitation Dr. Judah Magnes, Henrietta participated in an early Zionist study group, Hadassah. Formed by Magnes' secretary, Lotta Levensohn, the

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[8]Allon Gal, "Aspects of the Zionist Movement's Role in the Communal Life of American Jewry (1898-1948)," 157.

[9]Hadassah Newsletter, 1926 quoted in Mary Mcune, "Formulating the 'Women's Interpretation of Zionism:' Hadassah recruitment of Non-Zionist Women, 1914-1930," in *American Jewish Women and the Zionist Enterprise* ed. Shulamit Reinharz and Mark A. Raider (Waltham, Massachusetts: Brandeis University Press, 2005), 98.

[10]Erica B. Simmons, *Hadassah and the Zionist Project*, 9-11.

group was initially part of the larger Jewish women's society, Daughters of Zion. Levensohn's group sought to familiarize Jewish women with Zionist writers and thinkers. Witnessing primitive health conditions, Henrietta's 1909 Palestine trip proved life altering. Upon her return, Szold worked to create a new women's Zionist organization, one providing Palestine with adequate medical facilities for women and children. Her two years of careful preparation culminated in a February 24, 1912 meeting where Szold and others formed Daughters of Zion, Hadassah Chapter. Their motto: the healing of the daughter of my people.[11]

Henrietta Szold launched Hadassah at a time when Jewish women organized as never before. Like other American women, they sought to extend their domestic roles. Concurrent with Hadassah's founding, the National Council of Jewish Women (1893), the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods (1913) represent women's religious and community involvement. By the 1920s and 1930s the number of national Jewish women's organizations snowballed, reflecting the immigrant generation's coming of age.[12]

A product of the Progressive Movement, Szold applied Lillian Wald's successful home health program among New York City's lower East Side immigrant populations to suffering Jews in Palestine. Wald's nurses networked out of eighteen districts centers, visiting the sick and teaching latest healthcare practices. Following Wald's example, beginning in 1913, Szold's Hadassah raised enough money two send two nurses to

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[11]Erica Simmons, *Hadassah and the Zionist Project,* 13-14.

[12]Norma Fain Pratt, "Transitions in Judaism: The Jewish American Woman Through the 1930s," *American Quarterly* Vol. 30, No. 5 (Winter, 1978): 683, 690, 696.

Palestine. Rose Kaplan and Rachel Landy's Jerusalem clinic treated trachoma and assisted women and children. Szold remained in close contact with Wald and Jane Addams of Hull House fame.[13] In 1918 thirty students enrolled in Jerusalem's Henrietta Szold School of Nursing.[14] Opening in the 1920s, Mother and Infant Welfare Stations sought to "keep babies well, and...make available ...knowledge of the way to prevent needless sickness."[15] Beginning in the 1930s, Hadassah worked closely with Youth Aliyah, a program initially concerned with helping Jewish children out of Europe. After Israel's statehood, Hadassah's educational and vocational programs supported new Israeli emigrants.[16]

More than a charity organization, Hadassah brought Jewish American women into the Zionist fold.[17] According to Allon Gal, Henrietta Szold viewed Palestine as an "ideal setting for the reestablishment of a human-being-centered and God-loving Jewish civilization." She labored to create an educated society based "democracy and individual responsibility in the public sphere." Szold eschewed socialist Zionism, advocating an educated, humanistic society. American in outlook, Szold's "practical Zionism" merged

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[13]Erica Simmons, *Hadassah,* 13-14, 16-17.

[14]Carol Kutscher, "Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, Part I," in *Jewish American Voluntary Organizations,* ed. Michael N. Dobkowski (Westport, Connecticut: Green Wood Press, 1986), 155.

[15]"From Report of Infant Welfare Work in Jerusalem," *Hadassah News Letter* August 1923 quoted in Erica Simmons, *Hadassah and the Zionist Project*, 52.

[16]Erica Simmons, *Hadassah,* 130, 201.

[17]Mira Katzburg-Yungman, "Women and Zionist Activity in *Eretz Israel*: The Case of Hadassah, 1913-1958," in *American Jewish Women and the Zionist Enterprise* eds. Shulamit Reinharz and Mark A. Raider (Waltham Massachusetts: Brandeis University Press, 2005), 162.

with progressive "moral improvement" efforts.[18] Hadassah behaved like other progressive era women's organizations. Merely an extension of their domestic duties, women established settlement houses and otherwise saw to the community's social welfare. "What American activists did at home, Hadassah did abroad," Erica B. Simmons notes. By introducing modern medical standards and scientific child rearing practices, Hadassah mothered a new nation.[19]

In recruiting members, Hadassah specifically appealed to women's interests and roles. A 1918 editorial appearing in the *Maccabaean* best expressed Hadassah methods:

> To many women Zionism has been brought home through...the sewing circles, which have made hundreds of garments for the children of Palestine...As they sat together and plied their needles, the thought of the children who would wear the very dresses or shirts that were taking shape in their hands drew them nearer to the Jewish homeland, and before they knew it sentiment had passed into conviction, and the Basle Platform seemed the one natural and inevitable answer to the Jewish question.[20]

Using "maternalist rhetoric," Henrietta Szold's Hadassah created a "gendered Zionism." While husbands and fathers wrote letters and otherwise involved themselves in the political arena, their wives and daughters nurtured the nation. "Both women and men advanced Zionism, and therefore Jewish communal consciousness, in unique, yet

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[18]Allon Gal, "The Zionist Vision of Henrietta Szold," in *American Jewish Women and the Zionist Enterpriese* eds. Shulamit Reinharz and Mark A. Raider (Waltham Massachusetts: Brandeis University Press, 2005). 25, 28, 30, 31, 33.

[19]Erica Simmons, *Hadassah,* 1-4, 50-51.

[20]"Hadassah in Retrospect and Prospect," *The Maccabaean,* February 1918 quoted in Erica Simmons, *Hadassah,* 29.

complimentary ways," Mary McCune observes.[21] Many within the movement's male-dominated leadership viewed Hadassah as another charity organization, uncommitted to true Zionist ideology. In the end, Hadassah's fight to win an autonomous role for women within American Zionism paid rich dividends, both in members and monetary contributions.[22]

Receiving direction from national Hadassah, the Salt Lake City chapter succored Jews abroad while nurturing Zionist numbers at home.[23] As early as 1923, Oscar Leonard of the Palestine foundation committee urged Salt Lake City Jewish organizations to donate some $12,000. "The Jewish women of America, irrespective of affiliations, must be interested in this work," Leonard pressed the pioneer Hadassah chapter, "It is a work which brings healing on its wings to thousands of women less fortunate than they. Surely their hearts must be touched at the call which comes from suffering womankind in the Holy Land."[24]

Despite these maternalist overtures, Salt Lake's early Hadassah work languished and lapsed. Even after the chapter's 1943 reestablishment, Rose Arnovitz recalled membership woes. Because Hadassah's work focused on Palestine, "women would not

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[21]Mary McCune, "Social Workers in the *Muskeljudentum*: 'Hadassah Ladies,' Manly Men' and the Significance of Gender in the American Zionist Movement, 1912-1928," *American Jewish History* Vol. 86 Issue 2 (1998): 47-48, 50-51.

[22]Mary McCune, "Social Workers in the *Muskeljudentum,*" 59.

[23]Mira Katzburg-Youngman, "Women and Zionist Activity in *Erez Israel*," 162.

[24]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 7 December, 1923.

even support [Hadassah] with a five dollar bill."[25] With "Women's Zionist Organization of America" stamped on Hadassah membership cards, those concerned about their standing as patriotic Americans remained unaffiliated, despite supporting Hadassah sponsored Youth Aliyah.[26] At one point national president Judith Epstein advised Rose: "You won't change their minds. Go try and get somebody else."[27] National leader Elsa Levinson consoled Rose, attributing Salt Lake's apathy to a "lack of Zionist nourishment by direct contacts with our leaders."[28] Excerpts from Hattie Feldman's September 1945 letter to all members demonstrates the chapter's membership focus:

> If our members pay their dues without delay we shall be able to give our full time and energy to our campaign for new members....I need hardly tell you how urgent it is to secure many new members this year. This is the time for the Zionist movement to speed up the building of Palestine for the Jews who...long to rebuild their lives in a land where they are wanted. This is the time for the Zionist movement to press anew for the opening of the doors of Palestine and the restoration of the Jewish Commonwealth, to give the Jewish people the standing of equality with all other free peoples of the earth. For these tasks we need greater numerical strength. In this decisive hour we want to do our full share in the mobilization of American Jewry behind the Zionist program.[29]

Perhaps perceptive to the community's Zionist sentiments, Hattie Feldman requested National not send the Salt Lake chapter Hadassah's Zionist Political Education

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[25] Michael and Rose Arnovitz, interviewed by Leslie Kelen, 30 November, 1982, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Jewish Community Interviews, Accn 998 Box 1 Fd 3.

[26]Rose Arnovitz interviewed by Leslie Kelen, 16 March, 1983, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Jewish Community Interviews, Accn 998 Box 1 Fd 4.

[27]Michael and Rose Arnovitz, interviewed by Leslie Kelen, 30 November, 1982.

[28] Elsa Levinson to Rose Arnovitz, 13 April, 1946, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 5.

[29]Hattie Feldman to Salt Lake City Hadassah Chapter members, 19 September, 1945, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 2.

program. "I think...you are making a mistake in suggesting that you should not get Zionist Political Education," Zip Szold expressed. "I believe that the material is so good that it would be a real deprivation to suggest that it should not be sent to Salt Lake City."[30] Hoping to attract more ladies, Rose Arnovitz claimed Hadassah convinced Sara Rosenblatt to serve as president. "We got her to say she would be president for the prestige of the name... but she said we should never give her any mail or ask her to do anything," Rose stated. The second wife of Nathan Rosenblatt, Sara attended and conducted meetings; as de facto president, Rose Arnovitz took care of all correspondence and meeting agendas.[31]

While the isolation of Salt Lake's Jewish community may have deterred initial participation, following Israel's 1948 statehood, Hadassah ranks swelled.[32] "Hadassah's methods of attracting new members have much to tell us about the ways that middle-class American Jews became Zionists and the messages they found appealing," Mary McCune reminds.[33] Hadassah socials and relief projects prompted participation. Esther Landa recalled membership teas: "You were supposed to bring a friend when you came." In addition, the membership chair contacted prospective members, often new move-ins.[34]

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[30] Zip Szold to Hattie Feldman, 6 May, 1943, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 5.

[31]Rose Arnovitz, interviewed by Leslie Kelen, 16 March, 1983.

[32]Esther Landa interviewed by Rebecca Andersen, 29 June, 2007, transcript in possession of Rebecca Andersen.

[33]Mary McCune, "Formulating the 'Women's Interpretation of Zionism,'" 92.

[34]Esther Landa, interviewed by Rebecca Andersen, 29 June, 2007.

The Holocaust moved Shirley Tannenbaum to action. "I was influenced by the many women ...who believed that Palestine should be a state, to provide a homeland for those Jews who wanted to migrate there," she recalled. Believing in the importance of Hadassah's mission, Eva Siegel and Joanne McGillis found particular pleasure in chapter projects and social life. "The concept of a hospital treating both Arab and Jew seemed so logical for peaceful coexistence in the Middle East," Joanne explained. She found working with "motivated, committed and capable" women especially rewarding, adding "I think it was at this time that I discovered 'Woman Power' and creative, independent thinking." The Henrietta Szold story motivated Sylvia Arnovitz, who " particularly enjoyed the involvement in Youth Aliyah."[35]

Esther Landa's Hadassah activity began shortly after her marriage. With a husband serving overseas during World War II, Esther lived with her parents, joining the local Hadassah chapter. "When Jerry got out of the Army we moved to Tulsa, Oklahoma," she related. Tulsa's Hadassah president sought Landa, requesting her help as chapter secretary.[36] A very Zionist town, the Tulsa years prepared Esther for future leadership experiences.[37] "My husband used to complain...that if you were invited to a party in Tulsa, you had to listen to the meeting first before they had the party....There was a lot of meetings and a lot of involvement." Before returning to Utah, friends cautioned Esther: "When you go to Salt Lake, don't keep telling them how we did it in

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[35]Shirley Tannenbaum, Eva Siegel, Joanne McGillis, Sylvia Arnovitz, *Hadassah Happenings* Issue 232, March 2001, in possession of Helene Cuomo, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[36]Esther Landa, *Hadassah Happenings* Issue 232, March 2001.

[37] Esther Landa, interviewed by Rebecca Andersen 29 June, 2007.

Tulsa.'" Once re-settled in Salt Lake, Esther became involved in Hadassah and a host of other organizations, serving as chapter president form 1951 to 1953.[38]

Henrietta Szold's "practical Zionism" appealed to Salt Lake women. Through Blue Box and Donner luncheons, supply showers and sewing projects, fashion shows, raffles, card parties and children's parties, women supported Israel. In addition to planning fundraising activities, meetings educated members regarding Hadassah's objectives and activities in Palestine, later Israel. Minutes record the presence of local and national visitors, panel discussions, presentations, slide shows and films. Regional and national Hadassah meetings stimulated and inspired local leadership, reminding them of Hadassah's important work abroad.

The Salt Lake chapter received their annual fundraising quotas from National Hadassah. The chapter's $6795 1960 quota was divided among six Hadassah programs: Hadassah Medical organization, Youth Aliyah, Vocational Education, Youth Activities, the Jewish National Fund, and the Medical Center Building fund.[39] The chapter met their quotas by holding an annual donor luncheon and a semiannual Blue Box luncheon. Other fundraising activities included supply showers, clothing drives, raffles, fashion shows, and children's parties.

High end affairs, Salt Lake Hadassah held annual Donor luncheon in March or April. Rose Arnovitz conceived the first luncheon. To attend the 1946 dinner, women paid ten dollars. Held on the roof of Hotel Utah, 75 women attended, decked in new hats

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[38]Esther Landa, *Hadassah Happenings* Issue 232, March 2001.

[39]Hadassah meeting minutes, 6 June, 1960, minutes in possession of Karen McArthur, Salt Lake City, Utah.

and spring outfits. "It was a prestige thing," Rose commented, "women will go for that."[40] Luncheon programs delineated different levels of giving, printing the giver's name under the appropriate donation category.[41] "You always tried to get people to commit at a higher level, but you were very happy to get them to come," Esther Landa remarked.[42]

The Semi-annual Blue Box Luncheons helped fill the chapter's Jewish National Fund (JNF) quota. Responsible for purchasing Palestine land, the JNF launched successful propaganda campaigns, winning not only dollars but minds and hearts to the Zionist cause. Purposefully parroting traditional Jewish charity boxes, the JNF strived to place Blue Boxes in every Jewish home and institution. "The collection of funds using the box was based upon the assumption that the box itself would do the donation work," Yoram Bar-Gal explains, "It was the box that was the instrument of contribution and represented the institution and its goals."[43]

Twice a year, women emptied their Blue Boxes, bringing the loose change to Blue Box luncheons. Invitations emphasized the JNF's essential land reclamation projects. "Fill your Blue Boxes to the brim and bring them to this meeting in answer to the insistent pleas of the scattered survivors who still languish in Europe's Displaced

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[40]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 18 March, 1946; Rose Arnovitz, interviewed by Leslie Kelen, 16 March 1983, .

[41]University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 1.

[42]Esther Landa, inverviewed by Rebecca Andersen, 29 June, 2007.

[43]Yoram Bar-Gal, *Propaganda and Zionist Education: The Jewish National Fund, 1924-1947* (Rochester, New York: The University of Rochester Press, 2003), 11, 30, 34.

Persons Camps," The January 1947 invite implored.[44] "If you don't have a Blue Box," one invitation read, "you and your friends may partake of the delicious luncheon prepared by the Jewish National Fund Committee for $1.50 per person."[45] By the 1944, most of Salt Lake's Jewish homes had a Blue Box.[46] Generally well attended, Blue Box luncheons brought in significant sums of money. A chapter record, ninety-five women attended the February 1950 luncheon, contributing $421.91 to the Jewish National Fund.[47]

"Though the shower was not for a bride, you gave with a heart full of pride, Towels of every color and size to bring gladness to Israel's eyes," a 1951 verse went.[48] Salt Lake Hadassah met their national "supply" quota by hosting numerous supply showers. As a way to help Hadassah hospitals, women contributed sheets, pillow cases, and linens. Because recent arrivals to Israel often lacked sufficient clothing, sewing circles mobilized, meeting their needs. Though National Hadassah later monetized in-kind donations, supply showers, sewing projects and clothing drives provided a tangible link between Salt Lake City women and the new Jewish state.[49]

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[44]Blue Box Luncheon invitation, 23 January, 1947, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 2.

[45]Blue Box Luncheon invitation, 19 February, 1948, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 2.

[46]*Salt Lake Tribune*, 4 February, 1944.

[47]*Hadassah Highlights,* February 1950, Vol. 1 No.1, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 7.

[48]Supply Shower thank you note, 1951, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 8.

[49]Esther Landa interviewed by Rebecca Andersen, 29 June, 2007.

In answering National's 1946 requests, the Salt Lake chapter formed a Wednesday sewing group. At the November 1948 meeting, nine women volunteered to knit "warm garments to ship to Israel for the winter."[50] For nine sweaters, National credited the chapter $58.50. "This all helps tremendously, not only at the Supplies Bureau, but with our quotas to which the sum is credited," *Hadassah Highlights* November 1951 issue explained.[51] The chapter held an emergency Diaper Shower December 1, 1949. "Bring as many new diapers as you can. Israel's babies urgently need them!" the invitation read.[52] At an earlier diaper shower, women donated 121 cloth diapers.[53] After contributing $413 worth of sheets, National Hadassah expressed their thanks in a letter appearing in the chapter's newsletter, *Hadassah Highlights*:

> Hadassah Supplies are helping to maintain emergency medical services, outfit newcomers, and aid the dauntless citizen builders of Israel who strive for normalcy in this time of stress. In Hadassah's own, and in some hundred and twenty-five other institutions...including immigrant hostels, homes for the aged, the chronically ill and insane, orphan asylums, hospitals, sanatoria and welfare stations, your gift has meant new life, new hope, new certainty for the future.[54]

Salt Lake's Hadassah chapter creatively raised additional funds for Israel by car raffles. Charlie Pincus donated the first car. Parked in front of the Utah Theatre,

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[50]Hadassah meeting minutes, 19 September, 1946; 18 November, 1948;

[51]*Hadassah Highlights,* November 1951 Vol. II. No. 3, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 1.

[52]Supply Shower invitation, 1 December, 1949, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 8.

[53]Hadassah meeting minutes, 15 September, 1949, minutes in possession of Helene Cuomo, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[54]*Hadassah Highlights,* April 1952 Vol.III No. 2, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd. 7.

Hadassah women worked Main Street, selling raffle tickets for a dollar each. Ever involved, Esther Landa made sure raffle tickets sold. "Mrs. Jerry Landa gave a report on the raffle of the Chevrolet. She asked for people to sell tickets," November 1948 minutes record.[55] "My most memorable moment was watching [Esther] selling raffle tickets to passers-by on Main Street," Shirley Tannenbaum recalled. A plant worker at the American Foundry and Machine Company eventually drove the car home.[56] Netting $3,298, National Hadassah congratulated the Salt Lake chapter, promising to inscribe their name "in the hospital book."[57] For 1953, the chapter raffled off a Cadillac. At $100 a ticket and with only 75 tickets available, Hadassah president Esther Landa encouraged group ticket buying. Another success, the chapter raised $1,744.47, appropriating $1,000 to the new Jerusalem medical center.[58]

The Salt Lake Hadassah chapter maintained pace with the Israeli fashion scene through nationally sponsored Israeli fashion shows. The shows proved to be popular and fun fundraisers. "After three years of waiting, Salt Lake is finally going to get the fabulous Israeli fashion show," the November 1951 *Hadassah Highlights* announced, adding, "Women from coast to coast have been thrilled by this show." "Fashion Firsts from Israel" first premiered at the King David Hotel earlier that year. Local members

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[55]Hadassah meeting minutes, 18 November,1948, minutes in possession of Helene Cuomo, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[56]Esther Landa, Shirley Tannenbaum, *Hadassah Happenings* Issue 232 March 2001.

[57]Hadassah meeting minutes, 20 January, 1949, minutes in possession of Helene Cuomo, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[58]Hadassah meeting minutes, 23 April, 1953; 19 November, 1953, minutes in possession of Helene Cuomo, Salt Lake City, Utah.

modeled clothing designed by students attending Jerusalem's Hadassah Fashion and Design Institute.[59] The fashion show's program notes contained $700 worth of local advertising. The chapter applied this generous sum to the Youth Services quota.[60] Keeping up with Israeli fashions, the chapter continued hosting shows through the 1950s.[61]

Often in celebration of Hanukah or Purim, Hadassah hosted children's parties. Months before the parties, Montefiore and B'nai Israel Sunday schools distributed coin books or envelops. Like their mothers' Blue Box luncheons, children parted with their pennies at the party. Hadassah encouraged mothers to make sure full envelops accompanied their children.[62] More than just fundraising, the parties educated children about Israel, establishing early on the concept of contributing to the Jewish State. "Its only a few weeks until Hadassah's Hanukah party," read one letter undoubtedly passed out at Sunday school, "We're enclosing a special envelope for you—please put as much money into it as you can between now and the party and bring it with you—it will go to the brave children of Palestine, to give them some of them some of the many things we

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[59]*Hadassah Highlights* November 1951, Vol. II No. 3; Program notes for "Fashion Firsts from Israel," November 29, 1951, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 1.

[60]*Hadassah Highlights,* January 1952, Vol. III No. 1, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 7.

[61]Blue Box Luncheon and Meeting invitation, 26 February, 1953, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 2; Hadassah meeting minutes, 8 April, 1957, minutes in possession of Helene Cuomo, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[62]Hadassah meeting minutes, 8 October, 1953; 18 November, 1948, minutes in possession of Helene Cuomo, Salt Lake City, Utah.

enjoy."[63] Filled with fun, KSL-TV character Uncle Roscoe made an appearance at the 1953 Youth Services party, Marsha Williams and Leslie won a cake baking contest at a party bringing in $300.[64]

Speakers, meeting activities and national and regional conventions helped women understand Zionism and Hadassah's place within the Zionist movement. National Hadassah remained in close contact with local chapters. Beginning with Julia Dushkin's visit, the Salt Lake Hadassah chapter entertained numerous national and regional Hadassah officials. Often VIPs appeared as keynote speakers at the annual Donner or Blue Box luncheons. As part of her western chapters tour, national vice-president Rose Halpern addressed the chapter at their March 1949 Donor Luncheon. "Hadassah is making of the Middle East a healthful land," she reported, "Among other things, we have developed 54 playgrounds and have opened two new tuberculosis hospitals."[65]

Salt Lake's location as a railroad cross roads came in handy. "If [speakers] were heading to LA or San Francisco, we'd try and get them to stop off here," Esther Landa recalled.[66] Commenting on the rehabilitation and medical needs of refugee children recently rescued from Nazi concentration camps, Central Pacific regional president,

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[63] 28 October, 1947, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 3.

[64] *Hadassah Highlights,* April 1953 Vol. IV No. 2, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter , Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 7; *Salt Lake Tribune,* 28 December, 1953.

[65] *Salt Lake Tribune* 16 March, 1949.

[66] Esther Landa, interview by Rebecca Andersen 29 June, 2007.

Diana Rothenberg spoke at an October 1945 luncheon meeting.[67] A year later, national president, Judith Epstein made an appearance. Meeting minutes state:

> All those who were present will agree that after Mrs. Epstein spoke, we...felt that there was nothing we wouldn't do to help carry on the work of the organization....Looking around at the ladies, while she spoke, one could see that we all felt the same way she did about the necessity of doing all we can.[68]

Other speakers emphasized similarities between Israel and the United States. "Israel is a refuge for people persecuted in other countries, just as the United States was at one time," a visiting National Hadassah Board member noted, "People are taken directly from the ships to the land to learn agriculture, and Hadassah is playing an important part in this by conducting educational agricultural programs for young people." She commented on Israel's democratic character, free of censorship and political oppression.[69] Other National board member, Marian Greenberg noted historical parallels between the two countries: "a declaration of independence, a war for independence and a civil war."[70] Cold War climatic conditions made such declarations important. Chapter members could be sure that their contributions not only alleviated "Jewish homelessness," but built and maintained a free and open society in the Middle East.

Local speakers and panels made for especially interesting and educational meetings. University of Utah's Medical School Dean Richard Young addressed the

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[67]*Salt Lake Tribune* 19 October, 1945.

[68]Hadassah Minutes, 27 February, 1946, minutes in possession of Helene Cuomo, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[69]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 5 February, 1955.

[70]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 19 November, 1949.

chapter, praising Hadassah's medical center in Palestine he visited during the war. He concluded his remarks by signing a statement acknowledging a two-hundred-bed Tubercular Hospital, Hadassah's most recent project. At the November 1948 meeting, Rabbis Cardon and Podet analyzed Palestine's history and geography, discussing current events. Organized by Rachelle Finkelstein, an April 1952 panel discussion titled "Jewish Life in America," covered a wide range of topics from the "Relationship of Jews in the United States to Israel," to "Jewish Art in America. Esther Landa moderated the panel including, among others, Louis Zucker, Rabbi Adolf H. Fink, and Mrs. E. Louis Cardon. Perhaps most entertaining, Rabbi Podet reviewed Leon Uris' best seller *Exodus*. "Rabbi Podet highly recommended *Exodus,*" the March 25, 1959 minutes state, "The book presents an [insight] to Zionism from 1946 to [the] present." [71]

Taught by board members, the Salt Lake chapter offered classes discussing Hadassah or Zionist related themes. The first class met at the October 1943 meeting. In early 1945, participation waned; "war work" consumed women's time. Later that year, Education Chair Mrs. Baer attempted to revitalize Zionist and Jewish education study groups. Her success in this endeavor remains unclear. Beginning with the September 1962 meeting and continuing through October 1963, the chapter utilized a leadership training course made available through national Hadassah. [72] The fifteen to thirty minute sessions provided members with "a more complete knowledge of Hadassah, its structure,

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[71]Hadassah Meeting Minutes, 24 April, 1947; 22 January, 1948; 29 April, 1952; 25 March, 1959, in possession of Helene Cuomo, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[72]Hadassah Meeting Minutes, 28 October, 1943; 25 January, 1945; 26 September, 1945, minutes in possession of Helene Cuomo, Salt Lake City, Utah.

history and foundation for the future."[73] Learning from each other, Salt Lake Hadassah members presented lessons on leadership, Hadassah's structural and financial set-up, Israel, and Hadassah's relationship with the Jewish National Fund.[74] In addition, the training course provided practical tips for running the organization. At the March 1963 meeting, Esther Landa presented a lesson on how to make meetings "interesting ...to attract good attendance, how often they should be held and how long a good meeting should last." Her presentation sparked a lively discussion.[75]

In addition to visitors and special classes, the Salt Lake chapter learned about Hadassah activities and current events through available media resources. A May 1944 notice in the *Salt Lake Tribune* read: "Salt Lake chapter of Hadassah...will meet Sunday...to hear a radio talk by Rear Admiral Charles S. Stephenson on the Rothschild University and hospital in Palestine. The talk will be broadcast over KSL at 5:15 p.m."[76] Speaking over KALL and KDYL radio stations, Esther Landa and Helen Sandack informed listeners about the chapter's November 1948 fund raising campaign rebuilding Jerusalem's Hadassah hospital.[77] For the February 1956 meeting, Landa shared a list of upcoming radio and television programs specifically focusing on Israel.[78] "Thanks to

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[73]Hadassah Meeting Minutes, 13 September, 1962, minutes in possession of Karen McArthur, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[74]Hadassah minutes 14 November, 1962; 9 January, 1963; 17 April, 1963, minutes in possession of Karen McArthur, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[75]Hadassah minutes 13 March, 1963, minutes in possession of Karen McArthur, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[76]*Salt Lake Tribune* 6 May, 1944.

[77]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 3 November, 1948.

[78]Hadassah Minutes, 23 February 1956, minutes in possession of Helene Cuomo, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Leland Auslander and KDYL Television for showing two Hadassah movies....Watch your television screen for more Israeli movies—they're coming," the February 1950 *Hadassah Highlights* announced.[79] Later that year, KDYL aired three additional programs about Israel: *Homecoming, Birthday of Prophecy,* and *Israel in Action.*[80]

Provided by National Hadassah, members viewed films and slide show presentations.[81] In September 1945, the Salt Lake chapter received an announcement from National promoting the film, *The Palestine Problem.* "Make sure that your chapter and all other Zionists and friends of Palestine are told about its appearance," the communication stated, adding, "Please write and let us know the reaction."[82] The September 1957 meeting concluded with the film, *A Day in the Life of a Housewife in Israel.*[83] *Hannah Means Grace* told the story of Hannah, a crippled child who left a Hadassah hospital with dreams of becoming a dancer. "It was rewarding to know how our money performs such miracles," minutes read.[84] "Thanks to...movie projectionists

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[79]*Hadassah Highlights* February 1950, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 7.

[80]*Hadassah Highlights* September 1950, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 7.

[81]Esther Landa, interviewed by Rebecca Andersen, 29 June, 2007.

[82] Mrs. Herman Shulman to Salt Lake Hadassah Chapter President, 12 September, 1945, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 5.

[83]Hadassah Minutes, 4 September, 1957, minutes in possession of Helene Cuomo, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[84]Hadassah Minutes, 28 January, 1959, minutes in possession of Helene Cuomo, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Marvin Bloom and Stevie Rosenblatt for Hadassah movies. Marvin, our old reliable operator, took time off from work for our January meeting," a chapter newsletter noted.[85]

Especially educational, Hadassah regional and national conventions motivated local leadership. "How well we know the problems of 'beginner' chapters," Pacific Coast regional secretary wrote Hattie Feldman. She encouraged Feldman to attend that year's regional convention. "There we will try to outline programs etc. for you."[86] As a delegate, Esther Landa recalled attending workshops and listening to inspirational speakers. "Workshops were not only educational but 'how to.' How to get members, how to raise money, how to run meetings," Landa explained.[87]

Ethel Luerer attended the 1948 Atlanta National convention. Her account provides a glimpse into convention excitement and activities. Ethel found the energy of the 4000-strong crowd remarkable. The convention's theme, "Salute to Israel" imbued participants with exultant optimism. Leaders outlined courageous objectives for Hadassah's future: clinics, hospitals, a medical school, aid for recently arrived children and youth, and the list continued. "Nobody saw any hindrances," Luerer wrote. "Money? A minor matter! A budget of $65,535,000.00 was adopted without a word of discussion." Ethel spent her time listening to speech after speech: settlement progress in the Negev, the Jaffa health center, Zionism and the State of Israel, Youth Aliyah's progress. Sunday,

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[85]*Hadassah Highlights* February 1950, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 7.

[86] Mrs. Maxwell Reid to Hattie Feldman 31 March, 1943, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 5.

[87]Esther Landa interviewed by Rebecca Andersen 29 June, 2007.

Ethel attended a special panel discussion lead by Dr. Ira Eisenstein who "maintained that American boys and girls, without ceasing...to be patriotic Americans, could train and go to...Israel, much [like] our Mormon missionaries." After Monday's fundraising and membership conferences, *New York Herald Tribune* correspondent Ruth Gruber gave Tuesday's closing speech, reporting on Israel's "destiny as an outstanding democracy." Though Ethel admitted "the speech-making got to be wearisome," she noted "our responsibilities as American Jewish women are enormous, but my confidence has been strengthened that we shall measure up to them."[88]

The Salt Lake chapter hosted the 1962 Central Pacific Hadassah regional convention. Under President Irene Tannenbaum's direction, preparation for the May gathering began as early as November 1961. Regional President, Charlotte Diamond remained in close contact with Salt Lake Hadassah leadership, visiting the chapter in February. "The groundwork has been laid," minutes state, "we are assured of the full cooperation of the Hotel Utah management, special conference jobs have been assigned to each board member by Esther [Landa]."[89] According to newspaper accounts, the convention went off without a hitch. Mordechai Shalev, Consul general of Israel made an appearance as the convention's guest of honor. Shalev's presentation focused on Negev desert development, all part of Israel's economic growth plan. "Israel has to make up in

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[88] Ethel Luerer, "National Convention Report," 22 November, 1948, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 9.

[89]Hadassah meeting minutes, 29 November, 1961; 14 Febrary, 1962, in possession of Karen McArthur, Salt Lake City, Utah.

quality what it lacks in dimension and quantity," he stated. [90] National membership chairman, Mrs. D. Leonard Cohen summed up the American Zionist mission in her speech focusing on the "two fold" obligation of American Jews. "As an American Jew," she counseled delegates, "You must strive to preserve Judaism and Americanism."[91]

Hadassah drew women into the Zionist movement with projects and educational meetings. Although members may not have delved as deeply into Zionist theory, they acted like other women's organizations of the time, demonstrating their willingness to help the international Jewish condition by working within the women's sphere. "Hadassah created a number of ways by which American women could express their concern for the developing Jewish nation and thereby aid the Zionist movement," Mary McCune stresses.[92] Opening their meetings with the "Star Spangled Banner" and closing them with the Israeli national anthem "Hatikva," Salt Lake women learned about Zionist ideology and discussed their unique role as women Jewish homeland and state builders. They became part of a nationally united force of women working to establish a democratically sound society. Blue Box and Donor luncheons, fashion shows and supply showers operationalized the American Zionist mission. "Ours is the task of providing the soil and the physical healing for the harassed Jews in Europe who find sanctuary in

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[90]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 19 May, 1962; 21 May, 1962.

[91]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 23 May, 1962.

[92]Mary McCune, "Social Workers in the *Muskeljudentum,*" 164.

Palestine," a 1946 Blue Box Luncheon invitation reminded Salt Lake women.[93]

Henrietta Szold could not have said it better.

[93]Salt Lake Hadassah Blue Box Invitation, 19 February, 1946, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 2.

CHAPTER 4

THE MISSION ACTUALIZED: SUPPORTING ISRAEL, SUSTAINING JEWISH LIFE AT HOME

"Pretty—Shoots, Too," the *Salt Lake Tribune* headline ran. "Behind her large, dark eyes and striking femininity, Daphna Noy, Miss Israel has a knowledge of judo and how to shoot a gun," the article continued, "And this is not uncommon knowledge for an Israeli girl, says Miss Noy."[1] A third-generation Israeli, Daphna's grandfather helped establish Tel Aviv's industrial base, her mother owned and operated a beauty salon chain. In April, 1965, eighteen-year-old Miss Israel visited Salt Lake City as a part of her nation wide good-will tour. Appearing at the Salt Lake Welfare Fund Women's Division luncheon for the United Jewish Appeal, Daphna called for liberal donations. With 65,000 new immigrants annually, Israel struggled providing adequate housing, food and language training. When German repatriation payments ended, Israel's reliance on American Jewish generosity increased.[2] "We must come to you for help," Daphna reiterated, "Without your help, we could not have done what we have done." Returning home later that year, Daphna would begin her required two-year service in the Israeli

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[1]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 7 April, 1965.

[2]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 1, 8, April, 1965.

armed forces. While in uniform, she planned on helping her country's burgeoning immigrant population.[3]

Though Israel supposedly fulfilled the Zionist dream of an economically and socially progressive state, the Zionist mission continued emphasizing the new state's importance to American Jews, who for the most part never planned on immigrating. Israel served as a haven for world Jewry; the ultimate victory over the Nazi death machine, Israel symbolized Jewish ingenuity and modernity and acted as a cultural center, forever altering American Jewish identity. As Allon Gal points out, both goals were "relevant to inner Jewish needs."[4]

Daphna Noy represents American Zionism's twin themes. Behind her "large, dark eyes," Daphna Noy symbolized the "new Israeli Jew;" she knew guns and judo. In appealing for dollars, Dafna emphasized Israel's need. In addition to helping someone to safe harbors, a check made out to the UJA insured Israel's survival. Melvin Urofsky described the tenor of the times: "If anything happened to Israel not only would the Jewish state be lost but...Hitler would have won his victory." [5] Salt Lake fundraising efforts for Israel emphasized the new state's vulnerability. Community activities and outside speakers celebrated Israel as a Jewish cultural center. Trips to Israel further cemented ties, demonstrating the new state's impact on American Jewish life.

The Jewish community expressed support for Israel by contributing generously to the United Jewish Appeal and other fundraising efforts. "A lot of our fundraising was

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[3]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 8 April, 1965.

[4] Melvin Urofsky, "A Cause in Search of Itself: American Zionism After the State," *American Jewish History,* Vol. LXIX, No. 1 (September 1979): 87; Allon Gal, "The Mission Motif in American Zionism," 363.

[5]Melvin Urofsky, *We Are One!* ,238.

done at...fundraising meetings and we would bring in national speakers," Fred Tannenbaum commented.[6] UJA meetings created communal excitement. "I can remember my Uncle Morris Rosenblatt and Jim White and they would...try and out bid the other one," Esther Landa remarked.[7] The annual drives typically began with a kick-off dinner or party where visiting officials rallied for dollars, emphasizing Jewish need. National UJA Chairman, Jonah B. Wise reminded Salt Lake campaign director Milton Rosen: "To sustain the lifelines to Israel, to make it possible for 30,000 endangered Jews of Morocco and Tunisia to reach the Jewish State...to bring vital aid to Jews in need the world over—this is the task for which the United Jewish Appeal must have the most generous support of every community."[8]

The Salt Lake Jewish community favorably responded. A special 1945 relief drive quota was fixed at "all we can raise."[9] In 1958, the community campaigned for $125,000.[10] Commenting on a dinner-dance held in conjunction with the 1966 UJA drive, youth division chairman expressed the community's willingness to help: "UJA funds help relocate and educate new immigrants into a new way of life in Israel."[11] A year later, the community generously contributed to an Israel Emergency Fund Drive. Via a taped appeal, Israeli leaders agitated for "hundreds of millions of dollars from America." At the

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[6]Fred Tannenbaum, interviewed by Rebecca Andersen, 25 June, 2007.

[7]Esther Landa, interviewed by Rebecca Andersen, 29 June, 2007.

[8] Jonah B. Wise, New York, to Milton Rosen, 18 February, 1955, University of Utah Marriott Library, Special Collections, Benjamin M. Roe Papers, MS 139, Box 7 Fd 33.

[9]*Salt Lake Tribune*, 10 May, 1945.

[10]*Salt Lake Tribune*, 10 April, 1958.

[11]*Salt Lake Tribune*, 10 April, 1966.

meeting's close, Salt Lake Jewish Welfare Fund president Dal Siegel stressed: "The war is not over yet, and even if it were, our job is not." [12]

The Salt Lake Jewish community invested in Israel, buying Israeli bonds and purchasing shares from AMPAL, an Israeli financing corporation. They donated dollars to Hebrew University and the Weizmann Institute of Science. When Knesset member David Hacohen visited Salt Lake, he reported on Israel's economy and modernization efforts noting the many investment opportunities in irrigation, electricity, and mining.[13] Beginning in 1951, Israel began selling bonds in an effort to develop the nation's fledging economy burdened with intense immigration issues.[14] Benjamin Roe purchased some of the first bonds, later receiving a "Certificate of Honor" for his pioneer effort.[15]

In his 1953 visit to Salt Lake City, Maryland Governor Theodore R. Mckeldin introduced Israel Bonds to the Jewish community. "Israel's accomplishments ...have seemed like miracles but large scale subscriptions to the Israel bond issue are necessary if Israel is to build the kind of modern economy which will guarantee self sufficiency," he explained.[16] Four years later, Baltimore investment broker Adolph L. Hamberger addressed the community, explaining the importance of Israel bonds.[17] Bond drives did not become an annual occurrence until 1958.[18] Bonds were a practical way to absorb

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[12]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 9 June, 1967.

[13]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 13 March, 1953.

[14]*Encylopaedia Judaica,* s.v. "Bonds, State of Israel," by Meyer F. Steinglass, 1204.

[15]Joel B. Shapiro, Salt Lake City, to Benjamin Roe, 13 June, 1963, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Benjamin M. Roe Papers, MS 139 Box 4 Fd 23.

[16]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 7 December, 1953.

[17]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 26 June, 1957.

[18]Uri Miller to Rabbi E. Louis Cardon, 25 June, 1958, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Benjamin M. Roe Papers, MS 139 Box 4 Fd 23.

new immigrants to Israel. "New emergencies have arisen as a result of an increased flow of immigrants to Israel," National Chairman of B'nai B'rith Israel Bonds Committee Milton Seidenman wrote in 1964, "We hope…every member of B'nai B'rith in Salt Lake City will participate in the forthcoming Bond drive...encouraging others to make purchases."[19] Visiting entertainer George Jessel best expressed the purpose behind Israel Bonds at the 1959 rally: "I feel an investment in Israel is an investment in a living, growing, thriving land."[20] In Fred Tannenbaum's opinion, bond drives did not enjoy the same level of success as other fund raising efforts. "There was far more given in charity than put into bonds…some of the bonds that were purchased were given back."[21]

Others within the Jewish community invested in Israel through American Palestine Corporation (AMPAL). According to Melvin Urofsky, prior to Israel's creation, AMPAL served to "[guarantee] loans to finance projects in Palestine, since wartime restrictions forbade the sale of Palestinian securities in the United States." In the post-war decades, the corporation provided industrial, utility, and housing loans; related companies handled unique cases.[22] Through Benjamin Roe's AMPAL interests, the corporation got a tow hold in the Salt Lake community.[23] From corporation president Abraham Dickenstein, Roe learned about a recently registered subsidiary, Israel Industrial and Mineral Development Corporation (IIMDC) developed "primarily to build

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[19]Milton Seidenman 2 September, 1964, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Benjamin M. Roe Papers, MS 139 Box 2 Fd 14.

[20]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 13, December 1959.

[21]Fred Tannenbaum interviewed by Rebecca Andersen, 25 June, 2007.

[22]Melvin Urofsky, *We Are One!,* 301.

[23] Amnon Barness to Benjamin Roe, 8 August, 1954, Univsersity of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Benjamin M. Roe Papers, MS 139 Box 2 Fd 11.

up major industries...based on the numerous mineral resources of basic raw materials recently discovered in Israel." The 1953 communication continued: "Our investors and friends in the United States have an excellent opportunity of acquiring a personal stake in all major enterprises, which between them, will develop the natural wealth of Israel."[24]

Two years later, IIMDC made good on its oil drilling schemes. "I'm sure you were delighted as I was to hear that oil was found in Israel," James White expressed to fellow investors, Ben Roe and Max Siegel,"I only hope that...Israel will become another Arabia in riches. Nothing could solve the problems of Israel more quickly." Dickenstein seemed to think there would be no trouble in transferring AMPAL bonds into IIMDC stock. "Each of you...[has] a fourth $5000 and I have the other half," White indicated.[25]

By contributing to the Friends of Hebrew University and the Weizmann Institute of Science, the Salt Lake community further demonstrated their support for Israel. Without research and development, Israel would be unable to compete economically. "What, I ask you, would happen to a city like Salt Lake City if, at one blow, all the people with higher education were removed?" those soliciting for funds rhetorically asked, "In this modern age, the life blood of which is modern science and technology, a civilization is doomed to go under unless it looks after developing brain power. In Israel...the only natural resource we can count on to make the country grow, prosper and become independent and strong, is brain power."[26] Giving to Hebrew University not only

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[24]Abraham Dicenstein to Benjamin Roe, 27 August, 1953, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Benjamin Roe Papers MS 139 Box 2 Fd 11.

[25]James White, Salt Lake City, to Benjamin Roe and Max Siegel, 30 June, 1955, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Benjamin Roe Papers MS 139 Box 2 Fd 11.

[26]Dewey D. Stone to Benjamin Roe, 16 May, 1951, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Benjamin Roe Papers MS 139 Box 2 Fd 7.

strengthened the new nation's educational base but would help create a world renowned university capable of nurturing and safe guarding Jewish culture. "May I urge you to join with us in strengthening this cultural and educational outlet, not only within the state of Israel, but in terms of Jews everywhere," Ben Roe wrote Sam Makeoff.[27] By the 1960s, the Salt Lake Community donated to Hebrew University, curtailing their contributions for a brief period in 1967. "In view of the present crisis," Roe explained to David Gordon, Western Region Field Director for Friends of the Hebrew University, "any further plans for a drive for funds for the Hebrew University would be out of place. What the future will bring, we will have to wait and see." [28]

As the undisputed Jewish cultural center, Israel's statehood significantly impacted Jewish communities all over the United States, "There was a tremendous pride," Fred Tannenbaum recalled, "I think [Israel] gave Jews in the United States a different standing." Tannenbaum felt Israel's existence helped counter anti-Semitism and provided a "rallying point for the Jewish community."[29] Israel produced heroes, Jews willing to fight in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds, a generation of young warriors ready to reclaim the ancestral homeland, different from their ghetto grandfathers. The *sabra* image not only lay at the heart of Israel's national mythology, but completely transformed Jewish identity in the United States. "Zionism...quickened hearts, [and] swept along the masses," Oz Almog noted in his *The Sabra: The Creation of*

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[27]Benjamin Roe to Sam [Makeoff?], 14 September, 1956, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Benjamin Roe Papers MS 139 Box 2 Fd 8.

[28]Benjamin Roe, Salt Lake City, to David Gordon, 6 August, 1967, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Benjamin Roe Papers MS 139 Box 2 Fd 8.

[29]Fred Tannenbaum, interviewed by Rebecca Andersen, 25 June, 2007.

the New Jew.[30] The Salt Lake community eagerly manifested their pride in various ways: hosting Israeli officials, national anniversary celebrations, and trips to Israel. Perhaps most importantly, pro-Israel functions created opportunities to socialize.[31]

In his 1958 essay "The Impact of Zionism on American Jewry," Abraham G. Ducker observed that Jews in the United States would be unable to maintain their cultural life without "direct individual and communal relations with Israel Jewry Israeli officials."[32] Although Ducker's predictions cannot be substantiated, visiting VIPs linked the Salt Lake community with Israel, contributing to the overwhelming sense of communal pride Fred Tannenbaum sensed.

In his 1949 visit, Israeli Consul Rueven Dafni emphasized Israel's ingenuity: "All types of industry are being developed. We are particularly interested in a new plastic made from castor beans which grow well in Israel. The plastic is superior to nylon and was developed by our scientists."[33] Member of Israel's Supreme Court, Moshe Landau made an appearance at the University of Utah, November, 1955. He entitled his Institute of World Affairs address, "Israel: Present and Future."[34] Marking General Yigal Allon's Salt Lake arrival, the *Tribune* wrote: "Allon has been acclaimed by people of Israel as the 'Liberator of Negev' during the nation's war of independence." The paper further lauded

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[30]Oz Almog, *The Sabra: The Creation of the New Jew,* trans. Haim Watzman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 3, 5-6, 8, 20, 35-42.

[31]Fred Tannenbaum, interviewed by Rebecca Andersen, 25 June, 2007.

[32]Abraham G. Ducker, *The Impact of Zionism on American Jewry* (New York: Herzl Press, 1958,1964), 30-31.

[33]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 7 March, 1949.

[34]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 4 November, 1955.

Allon's economic and agricultural expertise.[35] Visiting Salt Lake in 1965, Israeli cultural affairs attaché Ora Goitein emphasized Israel's strides in gender equality. With women comprising ten percent of Israel's parliament, Israeli law insured full legal and economic rights for women. "Men not only accept women as equal[s] in [Israel], but they helped us reach our freedoms," Goitein explained.[36] In her commentary on the Six Day War, cultural affairs consul Naomi Gann believed the war proved Israel's national standing, "Because Israel handed the Arabs a heavy defeat, Israel feels safer."[37] Gann's unspoken message: Israel's safety insured Jewish survival everywhere.

Salt Lake's Jewish community marked each of Israel's anniversary milestones with speeches and celebrations. The community commemorated American values as much as they did Israeli greatness. For Israel's fifth birthday, B'nai B'rith, along with the local ZOA and Hadassah chapters issued a resolution "praising the new democracy for 'heroically providing a home and future for hundreds of thousands of Jews...and for integrating them economically and socially, with an idealism and intelligence which have earned the admiration of mankind.'"[38]

Special effort went into observing Israel's tenth anniversary. Showcasing several Utah Symphony players, February's "Jewish Music Festival" kicked off a year long cultural celebration, including Avraham Biran's April lecture on Israel's archeological

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[35]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 26 February, 1959.

[36]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 28 April, 1965.

[37]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 7 July, 1967.

[38]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 24 April, 1953.

treasures, and the appearance of the Israeli student group, Eilat. ZCMI displayed Israel-made ceramics and several pieces from a traveling Israeli Art Exhibit.[39]

Part of the celebration planning committee, Philip M. Stillman wrote Dale E. Peak, president of Utah Council of Churches about plans involving the greater Salt Lake area. "Throughout the nation, Church Councils are utilizing various program[s] to highlight the celebration of Israel's Tenth Anniversary ...some of these programs might be utilized are sermons, discussion groups, lectures, etc." Stillman closed his letter by emphasizing Israel's importance to both religious traditions.[40] Stillman provided an outline of Salt Lake's activities for Morris Laub, American Committee for Israel's 10th Anniversary Celebration, noting, "I am sure that after reading the above you will agree...that the relatively small community of Salt Lake with less than 500 Jewish families has done [its] job...in promoting the Tenth Anniversary Celebration."[41]

While fund drives and celebrations certainly cemented ties between Salt Lake and Israel, trips intensified connections. Vacations to Israel began as early as 1950. "Reciprocating the visits of Salt Lakers Whites, Schubachs, and Henteleffs ...were several Israeli visitors to Salt Lake this summer," the September 1950 *Hadassah Highlights* issue reported.[42] Trips to Israel picked up in the 1960s; Director general of

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[39]Philip M. Stillman to Moris Laub, 23 May, 1958, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Benjamin M. Roe papers, MS 139 Box 2 Fd 22.

[40] Philip M. Stillman to Dale E. Peak, 28 June, 1958, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Benjamin M. Roe Papers, MS 139 Box 2 Fd 22.

[41] Philip M. Stillman to Morris Laub, 23 May, 1958, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Benjamin M. Roe papers, MS 139 Box 2 Fd 22.

[42]*Hadassah Highlights* September, 1950, Vol. I, No. 3, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Utah Hadassah Chapter, Accn 938 Box 1 Fd 7.

Israel's tourist ministry, Abble Ben-Ari made an appearance a November 1967 Israel Bond rally celebrating the Balfour Declaration's 50th anniversary.[43]

Often those returning recounted their experiences at Hadassah chapter meetings. Jennie Hersh visited the Hadassah Medical Center; she shared her experience with fellow Hadassah members at a 1962 meeting.[44] When Ceil Siegel discussed the Jewish National Fund's work at the October 1963 Hadassah meeting, she gave "her own impressions on how valuable the program is from her recent trip to Israel."[45] Hadassah communications informed women about travel opportunities. For the January 20, 1962 meeting, corresponding secretary Jerri Guss read a letter announcing a Hadassah-sponsored tour of Israel targeting teenagers. Costing $899, Hadassah announced a tour of Spain and Israel for 1967. Devoted to tourism, the January 1966 meeting featured University of Utah LDS Institute head, Dr. Lyon, Dr. and Mrs. D. Moffat, and Mrs. Bennion, all of whom gave reports about their visits to Israel. [46]

The community celebrated Louis Zucker's retirement by presenting him with a traveling fellowship to Israel. In her letter to David Ben Dov, Israeli embassy Educational Attache, Esther Landa asked for official sponsorship. "We would like...official arrangements made for him in ways that would be appropriate for your office and for him...anything you can suggest which will lend official dignity to the idea will be most welcome." Noting Zucker's dedication in garnering support and aid for

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[43]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 26 November, 1967.

[44]*Hadassah Hi-Lites,* August 1962, copy in possession of Karen McArthur, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[45]Hadassah meeting minutes, 26, April, 1956, August 27, 1958, 9 January, 1963, 2 October, 1963, minutes in possession of Karen McArthur and Helene Cuomo, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[46]Hadassah meeting minutes, 20 January, 1962; 5, January, 1966; 9 August, 1967, minutes in possession of Karen McArthur, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Israel, Landa added: "It would be tragic indeed if… he, having been on professional salary all his life and having given away…more than his fair share to all charities …should never have this opportunity."[47]

Ralph Tannenbaum served as chairman for the United Jewish Appeal. Until his 1967 visit, he saw Israel only "as a sanctuary for Holocaust victims."[48] "I've been to Israel three times." Joel Shapiro reflected. "I'd like my sons and grandchildren to have the experience of going to see that place," he added, "Why is it? Is it mythical, is it psychological, is it political, religious? It's all of those things."[49]Joanne and Richard McGillis took their first trip to Israel in 1980. Joanne sensed this mythical, almost religious appeal:

> We held candles as we walked along Wilson Bridge, through the Gate of Priests to the newly excavated subterranean hall of the Second Temple. The men recited the pledge to Jerusalem and with our arms encircling each other, we joined them singing *Hatikvah*...Later, I was led to the women's section of the illuminated Western Wall. I laid my cheek against the cool stone of this ancient wall, which symbolizes the long drama of Jewish survival, and I tucked in my prayers: peace for mankind, health and happiness for my loved ones.[50]

According to Allon Gal, the American Zionist mission paralleled American humanistic values: "American Zionism conceived Jewish sovereignty as a service to mankind or as a contribution to its betterment."[51] American Jews saw Israel as a refuge for the poor and persecuted of World Jewry. In return, Israel created a new sense of

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[47] Esther Landa to David Ben Dov, 31 May, 1963, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Benjamin M. Roe Papers, MS 139 Box 6 Fd. 19.

[48]Ralph Tannenbaum, interviewed by Leslie Kelen, 18 June, 1982, University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Jewish Community Interviews, Accn 998 Box 5 Fd 8.

[49]Joel Shapiro, interviewed by Rebecca Andersen 26 June, 2007.

[50]Joanne Spitzer McGillis in *A Homeland in the West* ed. Eileen Hallett Stone, 404.

[51]Allon Gal, "The Mission Motif in American Zionism," 384-385.

identity and pride among Jewish communities scattered throughout the United States. Israel popularized "the image of the fighting Jew," a nation of scientists and industrialists.[52] Speakers emphasized Israel's precarious position. Money meant survival.

Salt Lake's Jewish community insured the new nation's vitality by contributing to UJA drives, purchasing Israel bonds, investing in Israeli industries, and supporting research and development. Israeli visitors like Yigal Allon, "Liberator of the Negev," and other dignitaries fostered national pride as did anniversary celebrations and trips to Israel. Between the 1930s and the 1960s, world conditions pushed Salt Lake City's Jewish community out of isolation, as they contributed to a cause global in size and significance. Abraham Ducker observed: "Zionism was the major factor in continuing...the concept of Klal Yisrael—one Jewish people—in a community driven apart by differences in religious outlook, class, ethnic origin, ideology and the continued escapism from Jewish life and affiliation."[53]

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[52]Abraham G. Ducker, *The Impact of Zionism on American Jewry,* 25.

[53]Abraham G. Ducker, *The Impact of Zionism on American Jewry,* 11.

CONCLUSION

ZIONISM: GLOBAL PATTERNS

Zionism and the state of Israel forever altered Jewish Diaspora dynamics. "The State of Israel was not established for the purpose of battle and military victory, or even to ensure the peace and welfare of its citizens alone," Israel's first Prime minister, David Ben-Gurion articulated, "It was charged with a unique mission: the ingathering of Israel's exiles and the developing and populating of the country's waste areas."[1] In less Biblical prose, former Israeli President Zalman Shazar added: "Although the bulk of Jewry is still scattered over the globe, the State of Israel unites all Jews with the ties of the spirit."[2] Israeli parliament member David Hacohen underscored these communal connections when he visited Salt Lake City in March 1953, admonishing: "The local Jewish people in America have a responsibility to assume in helping their fellowmen."[3]

Salt Lake City's Zionist activity must be understood within the larger contexts of a world wide movement. Martin Lewis and Karen Wigen's caution against a nation-state, "jig-saw puzzle view of the world" applies with equal force to the study of

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[1]David Ben-Gurion, ed. *The Jews in their Land* trans. by Mordechai Nurock, Misha Louvish (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1974), 318.

[2]Zalman Shazar, forward to *The Jews in their Land* trans. by Mordechai Nurock, Misha Louvish (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1974), 7.

[3]*Salt Lake Tribune,* 13 March, 1953.

nationalist movements.[4] Adam McKeown challenged scholars to "integrate localized research with knowledge of transnational activities and global patterns."[5] The Zionist ideology and movement transcended national borders and boundaries; communities throughout the world redefined the Jewish Diaspora as they helped create and sustain a nation state. The Salt Lake City Jewish community's Zionist work achieves added meaning when placed within a larger cosmopolitan context.

The formation of Salt Lake's Jewish community paralleled global trends. The community's Zionist origins are linked to the arrival of Eastern European Jews. Fleeing pogroms, Jews from Eastern Europe also fostered Zionist societies in the former British Commonwealth countries of South Africa, Australia, and Canada, as well as the Latin American countries of Brazil and Argentina. World War II greatly impacted Zionist activity in Salt Lake and abroad; facing a formidable refugee problem and fearing for the future of world Jewry, Zionist objectives and goals achieved a new sense of relevancy. Local Zionist organizational structures sustained this outpouring of support.

In contrast, Zionism affected North African and Middle Eastern Jewish communities differently. Spread by emissaries from Jewish Palestine, Zionist activity reached its peak during the postwar colonial meltdown. Interaction with Arab nationalist elements prompted a near complete exodus to Israel. Aided by Israeli intelligence, local Zionist networks facilitated migration; Jewish communities like Salt Lake were

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[4]Martin W. Lewis and Karen E. Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 11.

[5]Adam Mckeown, *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change: Peru, Chicago, Hawaii, 1900-1936* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 7.

encouraged to help Israel absorb these new immigrants by purchasing bonds, investing in Israeli industry, contributing to Youth Aliah, the UJA and many other similar organizations. Though communities worldwide sought backing for the Zionist cause, the Salt Lake community was unique in that Mormon leadership needed no swaying, perceiving Zionist efforts to be one of the "signs of the times."

Tsar Alexander II's March 1, 1881 assassination launched a period of pogroms lasting through the early twentieth century. This pre-Holocaust violence spawned a significant population upheaval.[6] According to David Vital, Jews responded to pogroms one of two ways: emigration or "national political action." Leon Pinsker's *Auto-Emancipation* defined the second alternative. Pinsker asked Jews to organize, initiating a 'self-reform' possible only within a Jewish state. Contributing to Pinsker's ideology, Moshe L. Lilienblum advocated a return to the Biblical land of Israel.[7] In addition to brutally destructive anti-Semitic outbursts and other factors, Eastern European Jews may have embraced nationalist objectives because, unlike their Western European brothers, Russian Jews did not face assimilation pressures. "Russification was an option, but it was a cultural, linguistic, and intellectual one, not a national, least of all a political one," Vital reminds.[8] In the end, many Russian Jews did not distinguish between emigration and national political action. Embracing life in a new diaspora, they carried their nationalist sentiments with them, later flocking to Herzl's political Zionism. Although the United

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[6]Goldberg, *Back to the Soil,* 10.

[7]Vital, *A People Apart,* 364-365, 382-383.

[8]Vital, *A People Apart,* 353.

States remained the destination of choice, Eastern European Jews found refuge in South Africa, Australia, Canada, Latin America, and even China.

Salt Lake City's Jewish community's origins and growth was typical for the United States. Newly arrived, Eastern Europeans found an already functioning German Jewish community. Separate synagogues reflected a certain degree of friction between the two groups. Likewise, Eastern European Jews faced similar experiences in Canada. Until the 1880s, Jewish communities remained limited in size and area, centered in Toronto and to a lesser extent Montreal; thirty years later, the picture dramatically changed. "By 1914," Irving Abella wrote, "communities of Jews could be found in cities, small towns and villages from coast to coast." "Yiddish-speaking, Orthodox, penurious immigrants" challenged the earlier "Anglicized, comfortable, integrated community."[9]

Although Salt Lake Jews did not face a high degree of overt anti-Semitism, Abella attributes Canada's anti-Semitic surge to the increased number of Eastern European Jews and other nativist thinkers like Oxford educated Goldwin Smith whose anti-Jewish sentiment influenced none other than future prime minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King. During the 1930s, King would later turn away thousands of Jewish refugees.[10]

Conditions differed in South Africa and Australia, later impacting Zionist activity. German and English Jews with gold fever followed Australia's first Jewish settlers: convicted pickpockets and other petty thieves. Sydney, Melbourne and Victoria proved

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[9]Irving Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours: Two Centuries of Jewish Life in Canada* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1999), 21, 31, 44, 103.

[10]Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours,* 105, 107.

popular destinations. Until the 1930s when refugees transformed communal life, Australia's remoteness and 1890 economic slump inhibited Eastern European Jewish settlement.[11]

During these same years, South Africa attracted large numbers of Eastern European Jews. While a few Amsterdam Jews may have found their way to Dutch South Africa, most early settlement followed British take-over. Primarily professionals, English and German Jews arrived during the 1820s and 1830s; by the 1870s, economic difficulties threatened the community. "Had Jewish immigration to South Africa ceased in 1870, it is doubtful that any Jewish community would remain there today," Daniel Elazar observed.[12] By 1911, 42,926 *Litvaks* or Jews primarily from Lithuania lived in South Africa, outnumbering the earlier Anglo-Jewish presence. [13]

Eastern European Jews living in Salt Lake City and other locales across Canada, South Africa and Australia typically found themselves among an older Jewish community. The situation differed in Latin America where migration from Eastern Europe quickly overwhelmed earlier Jewish population pockets. Argentina's open door immigration policy and Brazil's rapid economic development attracted large numbers of

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[11]Suzanne D. Rutland, *The Edge of the Diaspora: Two Centuries of Jewish Settlement in Australia* , second revised edition, (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1997), 9, 50-51, 77.

[12]Daniel J. Elazar with Peter Medding, *Jewish Communities in Frontier Societies: Argentina, Australia, and South Africa* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Ltd., 1983), 165-166.

[13]Gideon Shimoni, *Jews and Zionism: The South African Experience, 1910-1967,* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1980), 5,7, 9.

Jewish immigrants.[14] "The majority of immigrants gravitated to those countries that, out of a desire to encourage immigration, had separated church and state," Judith Elkin remarks in her *Jews of the Latin American Republics.*[15]

Of Latin America's two major Jewish population centers, Argentina initially attracted the largest number of Eastern European immigrants; most arrived between 1910 and 1914, entering Buenos Aires' skilled labor sector. During the early twentieth century Elkin contends few made their homes in Brazil. "Immigrants arriving without capital or professional skills...had to compete on the labor market with recently freed slaves," she explains. For those wishing for a better life, back-breaking Plantation work provided little future.[16] After World War I, the situation changed when Brazil's economy began an upward climb. At a time when Argentina enacted measures limiting immigration, Brazil willingly received those from war-torn Poland, Romania, and Lithuania.[17]

While the Salt Lake Jewish community followed global patterns in its formation and growth, life among Mormons colored the Salt Lake experience, one unparalleled in time or space. Armed with priesthood authority, Mormons claimed the promises made to Abraham. As latter-day Israel, Mormons sought to reclaim spiritually lost and scattered Israel. "May all the scattered remnants of Israel, who have been driven to the ends of the

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[14]Victor A. Mirelman, *Jewish Buenos Aires, 1890-1930: In Search of Identity* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990), 20; Jeff H. Lesser, "Continuity and Change Within an Immigrant Community: The Jews of São Paulo, 1924-1945," *Luso-Brazilian Review,* 25, No. 2: 45.

[15]Judith Elkin, *Jews of the Latin American Republics,* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 55.

[16]Elkin, *Jews of the Latin American Republics,* 58-59, 64-65.

[17]Lesser, "Continuity and Change within an Immigrant Community," 45-46.

earth, come to knowledge of the truth, believe in the Messiah, and be redeemed from oppression," Joseph Smith stated in his March 27, 1836 Kirtland Temple dedicatory prayer. God had not forgotten the "House of David" and would renew His ancient covenants, restoring them to their land and former greatness.[18] Because a Jewish return to Palestine prefigured spiritual restoration, Zionism received an especially warm reception among Mormon faithful.

Though a by-product of Eastern European migration, prior to World War II, worldwide Zionist organizations encountered obstacles. Despite Montefiore Rabbi Krikstein's rousing rhetoric and Louis Zucker's cultural consciousness, during the 1920s and 1930s, Salt Lake's Jewish community remained largely ambivalent toward Zionism. People feared dual loyalty charges; the community's small size and relative isolation further contributed to a lack of involvement. Attitudes changed when the Holocaust's dimensions became known; Louis Zucker emerged as the galvanizing force behind Salt Lake Zionism, directing letter writing campaigns and organizing meetings. As always, Mormon leaders lent support. Even still, Salt Lake never had a large Zionist Youth movement or supported one form of Zionist ideology over another.

In areas with a significant Eastern European Jewish population, Zionism organized earlier. An immigrant from Wilkomir, Lithuania, Moshe Weiner founded South Africa's first Hibbat Zion society in 1896. Two years later, the community organized the South African Zionist federation. The federation later became the primary

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[18]Doctrine and Covenants 109: 62-63, 67.

unifier for South African Jewry, organizing numerous fundraising campaigns and hosting visiting leaders. Whereas initial Zionist support within Salt Lake community primarily came from congregation Montefiore, both the English and German Jewish population endorsed and supported early Zionist activity. "This suggests that the extraordinary pre-eminence of Zionism was a function, not of the Litvak legacy alone, but also of the societal environment," Shimoni noted.[19]

Because of their skin color, in the strictly segmented South African society Jews enjoyed most privileges accorded other whites. Not afforded separate state supported cultural institutions, Jews either acculturated into the Afrikaner or Anglo world or formed parallel establishments. Zionism provided ideological and structural unity. "It was thus the cultural dualism of the Whites, rather than the overall caste-linked pluralism of the entire society, which assumed primary significance for the Jews of South Africa," Shimoni stressed. In addition, Reform Judaism never gained a serious enough following to challenge Zionist communal leadership[20] Unlike Salt Lake, beginning in 1916, youth groups played an especially significant role in educating and preparing South Africa's future Zionist leaders.[21]

Like the South African federation, Canada's Zionist organization served the Jewish community in numerous ways. "Its annual conventions...were the only opportunities for Jews across the country to meet and discuss common problems, many of

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[19]Shimoni, *Jews and Zionism,* 19-20, 27.

[20]Shimoni, *Jews and Zionism,* 2-3, 34, 36, 50.

[21]Shimoni, *Jews and Zionism,* 2-3, 31-31, 34,36,

which had little to do with Zionism," Abella explains.[22] While the Salt Lake community does not seem to have been affected by Zionist ideological debates, Canadian Jews split along Labor and Orthodox-oriented Mizrachi lines.[23] With the outbreak of World War II, leaders attempted to educate the public regarding Zionist goals and objectives. These efforts intensified during the immediate postwar years.[24] Differing from the United States, anti-Zionist groups lacked support and Canada's Jewish community remained pro-Zionist, despite ideological disagreements.[25]

The Salt Lake Jewish community most closely parallels the Australian community; small population size and patriotic passion pervaded both. Though Russian and Polish Jews remained committed to the cause, as was the case in the United States, Zionism lacked support from the established Jewish community. "Economic and social opportunities, and the virtual absence of anti-Semitism, and the fear that support for Zionism would make Jews appear unpatriotic, continued to contribute to the relative lack of Australian enthusiasm for Zionism," Rutland summarizes.[26] The Balfour Declaration rallied some support, but as mandate policy shifted, many of Australia's Jewish community backed Britain's Palestine policy.[27] The exception may have been citizen-

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[22]Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours,* 148-149, 150, 151.

[23]Harold M. Waller, "A Re-examination of Zionism in Canada," in *The Canadian Jewish Mosaic,* ed. by Morton Weinfeld, Irwin Cotler, and William Shaffir (Rexdale, Ontario: John Wiley & Sons Canada Limited, 1981), 347, 348.

[24]Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours,* 227.

[25]David J. Bercuson, *Canada and the Birth of Israel,* 15.

[26]Rutland, *The Edge of the Diaspora,* 86-88, 89.

[27]Elazar, *Jewish Communities in Frontier Societies,* 284; Rutland, *The Edge of the Diaspora,* 171.

soldier John Monash, famous for his World War I Gallipoli experience. According to his biographer, Monash completely identified himself with Australian society; during the 1920s, he publically sided with Zionism, becoming national president of the Australian Zionist Federation in 1927.[28] With the arrival of refugees from Europe and some anti-Semitic activity at home, the Zionist ideology and movement could no longer be ignored. Occurring between 1938 and 1948, these changes in attitude "were of central importance in the evolution of Australian Jewry," Rutland emphasizes.[29] The same could be said for Salt Lake Jewish life.

Differing political and economic conditions impacted Zionism's growth and development in Latin America. Though Zionist societies formed in Buenos Aires following the first Zionist Congress, it remained "the pastime of a few idealistic Jews." Labor Zionism held sway among early supporters; interest dwindled during the 1920s. Victor Mirelman attributes the dip to poor education. "Jewish national education was at...[a] low level," he writes, "both education of the general public in Zionist ideals and the preparation of new leadership by instructing the young."[30]

Because the bulk of Jewish immigration to Brazil did not occur until the 1920s, the Zionist movement lagged in comparison with other countries. Zionism received its initial impetus in 1915 when David Jose Perez and Alvaro de Castillo started a newspaper carrying editorials, articles and other writings by key Zionist figures. Following the

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[28]Geoffrey Serle, *John Monash: A Biography* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2002), 483-484.

[29]Rutland, *The Edge of the Diaspora,* 223.

[30]Mirelman, 110-111, 114, 132.

Balfour Declaration, Perez attempted to organize a Jewish Brazilian Congress in an effort to generate nationwide support behind a Jewish state.[31] During the 1930s, Brazilian nativist legislation checked Zionist activity, making the movement illegal in 1937. "The Jewish community was left with only two options, to reject Zionism or to clandestinely support it," Lesser wrote, explaining that despite the "intra-communal tension, the Jewish community, realizing that Brazil could provide many economic and social opportunities, was hesitant about taking the Vargas government to task for its policies."[32] In the immediate postwar years, Zionists in Peron's Argentina found it difficult to influence government policy—especially when Argentina abstained from voting on the UN Palestine question.[33] In Brazil, assimilation and division within the movement limited effective Zionist lobbying.[34]

Salt Lake Zionist leaders like Louis Zucker organized letter writing campaigns to congressmen and sought support from LDS church president, George Albert Smith. Likewise, Zionist activists across the world courted key community and government leaders. Patterns of patronage grew elsewhere. Especially supportive of South African Zionism, Field Marshall Jan Christian Smuts became the movement's defining figure and ally. Believing a Jewish state would best safeguard Britain's Suez interests, Smuts

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[31]Haim Avni, "The Origins Zionism in Latin America," in *The Jewish Presence in Latin America,* ed. Judith Elkin (Winchester, Massachusetts: Allen & Unwin, Inc., 1987), 141-142.

[32]Lesser, "Continuity and Change within an Immigrant Community," 52.

[33]Silvia Schenkolewski Kroll, "Zionist Political Parties in Argentina from the Revolution of 1943 to the Establishment of the State of Israel," in *The Jewish Diaspora in Latin America: new studies on history and literature,* eds., David Sheinin and Lois Baer Barr (New York: Garland, 1986), 239-240, 248.

[34]Encyclopaedia Judaica, s.v. "Zionism" by Rosa Perla Raicher, 1124.

supported the Zionist cause at the Paris Peace conference, launching a lifelong friendship with Dr. Chaim Weizmann. "Owing to its distance from...the World Zionist Organization, South African Zionists would have had very little sense of political purpose were it not for Smuts. He became the channel through which almost all support of Zionist diplomacy was effected," Shimoni explained. Smuts dispelled any dual loyalty charges against the Jewish community, emphasizing the complete cooperation between Zionism and South Africa.[35] According to his son, Smuts viewed "the Jewish question as a great human problem...His concept of a home in Palestine...was a legalistic and humanitarian one...He thought of the Jews not as a people, or a chosen race, but as a cause."[36]

In her discussion of wartime and postwar Australian Zionist activity, Suzanne Rutland details the efforts of Melbourne and Sydney leaders who pressured the Labor Party to speak out against the White paper and lend their support behind a Jewish state. Zionist leaders often personally approached policy. Continuous contact with Herbert Vere Evatt contributed to the crucial part Australia played in Israel's creation. As a former criminal lawyer, Evatt believed Holocaust wrongs could only be righted if Jews possessed their own nation state. Unlike his Canadian colleagues, Evatt desired a clean break from the British shadow. As chair of the special UN Ad Hoc Committee at Lake Success, New York, he expressed these views. "Evatt's role was fostered by skillful leadership from Australian Zionists," Rutland summarizes, "In this way Australian

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[35]Shimoni, *Jews and Zionism,* 41-42, 46.

[36]J.C. Smuts, *Jan Christian Smuts: A Biography* (New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1952), 263.

Zionism played a critical role in the final stages of pre-State Zionist history...Since 1949 most official policy statements on Australia-Israel relations have been based on the position developed by Evatt."[37]

In contrast, despite Zionist war-time pressure, ambivalent Canada took little interest in Palestine, preferring to follow British policy. "Only after the war, when the United Nations took up the problem of Palestine, did Canada evince some interest...and only because...Ivan Rand of the Supreme Court of Canada, was appointed to the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine," Irving Abella explains.[38] David J. Bercuson provides an in depth discussion of Canada's foreign policy. In the immediate post-war years, Canadian Zionist leaders approached government officials numerous times; more often than not, their importuning fell on disinterested ears. Palestine held little resonance. "Canada had virtually no commercial or strategic interests in the area and...was quite content to watch from the sidelines," Bercuson writes. For Canada, British actions remained all important; once Britain bailed, the importance of United States policy grew. Largely independent of Zionist lobbying, Canada supported partition.[39]

On all accounts, Zionist activity assumed a new level of intensity after the Second World War. When the British withdrew from Palestine, they left the region's fate in the hands of the newly created United Nations. No longer a British imperial concern, the Palestine question became one of international consequence, testing the United Nation's

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[37]Rutland, *The Edge of the Diaspora,* 310-311, 314.

[38]Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours,* 227.

[39]Bercuson,*Canada and the Birth of Israel,* 32-33, 234-235.

legitimacy. The November 1947 UN debate over partitioning Palestine into an Arab and Jewish state and Israel's subsequent May 14, 1948 statehood declaration transformed Diaspora relationships. A Jewish state offered displaced European Jews a home and a new life; for those remaining in the Diaspora, a nation state meant security and survival. With Israel's statehood, immigration or *aliyah* emerged as an important issue confronting those living in the Diaspora.

Salt Lake Zionism matured during the post-war years. UJA funds, bond drives, and investment schemes captured the community's attention. Visiting Israeli officials inspired support. Although trips to Israel increased during the 1950s and 1960s, no one desired immigration. Similarly, fundraising efforts increased in South Africa, Canada, and Australia. From the South African Jewish community, three thousand volunteered for active duty in the 1948 Arab-Israeli war.[40] The South African government openly helped the Zionist Federation transfer critical supplies to the new state. Moreover, even Afrikanner nationalists backed Zionist aspirations. "The motivation...was initially [out of] hatred [for] the British than love of the Jews. It was [believed] that a Jewish state open to Jewish immigration would ...eliminate the danger of such immigration...to South Africa," Shimoni notes. Unfortunately, Nationalists would later draw parallels between their apartheid state and Israel. Relations between the two countries cooled considerably when Israel condemned South African race laws in a 1952 UN meeting.[41]

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[40] *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. "Zionism," by Aharon Zwergbaum, 1141.

[41] Shimoni, *Jews and Zionism,* 200, 203. 218.

Even in distinctly pro-Zionist South Africa, few immigrated to Israel. Like their co-religionists in the United States and Salt Lake City, South African Jews saw Israel as a place for displaced European Jews, "vital...for their own future as Jews in the Diaspora." Most of those who did emigrate had belonged to the Zionist youth movement. Youth membership reached an all time high in the 1950s.[42] Similar patterns pervaded in Canada where the community preferred fundraising to immigration.[43] Though many Jews chose to remain in Australia, a significant number did move to Israel, which Rutland likewise attributes to successful Zionist education and youth programs.[44]In comparison with larger communities found throughout the United States, Canada, and South Africa, Salt Lake lacked a significant Zionist youth movement. University of Utah's Hillel chapter aside, Zionist educator Louis Zucker sought to expand the movement's message, encompassing the entire community. For Zucker, Israel provided the basis for Jewish culture and civilization. In establishing a Jewish Studies chair and library, he created a lasting communal resource, illuminating Jewish history and culture. As an "ambassador" to Mormons and other faiths, Zucker reached out, unfolding and celebrating Judaism's complexities.

Zionist penetration and activity inside Middle Eastern and North African Jewish communities differed substantially from other Diaspora societies. Often Zionism followed in the wake of European colonialism and other western contact. "Information

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[42]Shimoni, *Jews and Zionism,*32, 201, 251.

[43]Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours,* 229-230;

[44]Rutland, *The Edge of the Diaspora,* 319, 321-322.

about the emergence of political Zionism in Europe reached Middle Eastern and North African Jews who had commercial, social, and educational contacts with Europe," Rachel Simon notes.[45] Local social and political environments hampered Zionist growth. The European movement struggled in an area largely lacking modern political expression. Familiar with European politics, European Jews living in the Middle East or North Africa founded most of the region's early Zionist societies.[46]

North African Zionist associations formed between 1900 and 1914, often following the settlement or visit of European Jews.[47] Conversely, Iraq's Jewish community expressed little interest in Zionism. During British rule, Jews living in Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra succeeded in commerce and banking. Following Iraq's creation, Jews consciously worked to portray themselves as loyal Iraqis. "With this goal in mind," Moshe Gat explains, "the community leaders cut down on Hebrew studies in the schools so as to enable students to devote more time to subjects included in...examinations required for entry into institutions of higher learning." Viewed as an anti-Iraq movement, Zionist identification remained minimal.[48]

Because of proximity, emissaries from Palestine played a significant role in developing the region's Zionist movement. Expelled from Palestine, Jews spending

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[45]Rachel Simon, "Zionism," in *The Jews of the Middle East and North Africa in Modern Times,* eds. Reeva Simon, Michael Menachem Laskier, and Sara Reguer (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 166.

[46]Simon, "Zionism," 168.

[47]Michael M. Laskier, *North African Jewry in the Twentieth Century: The Jews of Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 32.

[48]Moshe Gat, *The Jewish Exodus from Iraq, 1948-1951* (London: Frank Crass & Co., Ltd., 1997), 12-13.

World War I in Alexandria and Cairo actively cultivated Zionist sympathy.[49] If they failed to win local Jews over to the cause, they created lasting impressions among British troops stationed in Egypt. Although he later claimed his "interest in the return of the Jews to Palestine is as old as my eighty-odd years," Colonel Richard Meinertzhagen first heard about political Zionism while in Egypt.[50] There he worked closely with approximately fifteen Jewish refugees from Palestine "all of splendid physique and to my astonishment fair-haired and blue-eyed."[51] Similar to Jan Smuts, Meinertzhagen believed a Jewish governed Palestine best satisfied British interests, noting "The Jew means progress...the Arab is stagnation."[52] At the war's end, Meinertzhagen participated in the Paris Peace Conference where he backed the Balfour Declaration over the Sykes-Picot Agreement. Later he would participate in the 1948 Israeli war, spending a day with Haganah forces. After firing two-hundred rounds, he returned to his ship and ordered a bottle of champagne. Recording the day's events, Meinertzhagen wrote: "Altogether I had a glorious day. May Israel flourish!" [53]

During World War II, Palestine's Jewish Agency trained and dispatched emissaries throughout the region. They were specifically commissioned to organize

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[49]Michael M. Laskier, *The Jews of Egypt, 1920-1970: In the Midst of Zionism, Anti-Semitism, and the Middle East Conflict* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), 5; Rachel Simon, "Zionism," 169, 172.

[50]Richard Meinertzhagen, *Middle East Diary, 1917-1956* (London: The Cresset Press, 1959), 1.

[51]Meinertzhagen, *Middle East Diary*, 5.

[52]Meinertzhagen, *Middle East Diary,* 14, 12.

[53]Meinertzhagen, *Middle East Diary,* 25-26, 223.

training camps for young people, preparing them for eventual immigration to Palestine.[54] Emissaries in Algeria recruited especially talented young people to the Hagana, a pre-Israel fighting force. "Branches of the Hagana developed in Morocco and Tunisia," Michael Laskier reports.[55] To a large extent, these efforts paved the way for postwar immigration.

Unlike Jewish communities in the West, those of the Middle East and North Africa readily immigrated; today, there remain few communities intact outside Israel. War time adversities and maturing Arab nationalism strengthened immigration impulses. After experiencing Vichy rule, Algerian Jews lost faith in the French colonial administration. The Cremieux Decree revoked French citizenship; beginning in March 1941, a commissariat-general for Jewish questions enforced anti-Jewish legislation. Between 1942 and 1943, Tunisia's Jewish population experienced German occupation. Though never subject to the same extreme measures as their European counterparts, German occupiers pressed nearly five thousand Jews into forced labor. Abitbol believes these wartime conditions generated a "genuine birth of Jewish consciousness within...Jewish youth, which, up to the fall of 1940, had put its hope into European civilization and the universal message of contemporary ideologies." When emissaries arrived in 1943, they found ready followers.[56]

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[54] Laskier, *The Jews of Egypt, 1920-1970: In the Midst of Zionism, Anti-Semitism, and the Middle East Conflict*, 5; Rachel Simon, "Zionism," 169, 172.

[55]Michael M. Laskier, *North African Jewry in the Twentieth Century*, 86, 87.

[56]Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War*, trans. by Caterine Tihanyi Zentelis (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 44, 57, 60, 169-170.

Following the Second World War, a number of factors combined contributing to a near complete cessation of Middle Eastern and North African Diaspora life. The Palestine question permeated Arab nationalist circles where passions flared. Once Jewish statehood was achieved, the situation's complexity increased. Attitudes and policies adopted by Arab nations alarmed and concerned Jewish communities; encouraged by Zionist emissaries, many sought emigration.[57] The Haganah and later Mossad Le'Aliyah facilitated illegal immigration to Palestine. In 1946, Operation Passover smuggled nearly a hundred Jews out of Egypt.[58] Similar activity occurred in North Africa, Algeria functioning as the central point of embarkation.[59] Later immigration from Egypt followed the 1948 war when "significant Jewish private, commercial, and communal assets were seized and placed under the custody of the director–general of sequestered property." [60] Perhaps the most well-known immigration scheme, Operation Magic Carpet, airlifted a number Yemenite Jews out of refugee camps to Israel.[61] By the end of the 1950s and 1960s, most North African and Middle Eastern Jewish communities had relocated to Israel.

News about North African and Middle Eastern Jewish communities penetrated the Diaspora. So as to effectively absorb the ever growing immigrant population, leaders encouraged individuals to purchase Israel bonds and otherwise invest in the new state's

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[57]Rachel Simon, "Zionism," 176; Michael Laskier, *The Jews of Egypt, 1920-1970,* 126, 305.

[58]Laskier, *The Jews of Egypt,* 114.

[59]David Cohen, "Algeria," in *The Jews of the Middle East and North Africa in Modern Times,* 469.

[60]Laskier, *The Jews of Egypt,*126,.

[61]Tudor Parfitt, *The Road to Redemption: the Jews of Yemen, 1900-1950* (New York: E.J. Brill, 1996), 228.

economy. Visiting Salt Lake City, officials such as Maryland Governor Theodore R. Mckeldin and investor Adolph L. Hamberger drove home the importance of Israel bonds. Benjamin Roe, Max Siegel, and James White obtained stock in Israel Industrial and Mineral Development Corporation, receiving dividends upon the company's successful oil drilling scheme. Others contributed to Friends of Hebrew University and the Weizmann Institute of Science.

Salt Lake's Hadassah chapter concerned itself directly with Israel's immigration challenges. After helping Jewish young people leave Europe, Youth Aliyah focused on those still living in Arab countries. Salt Lake women faithfully filled the chapter's Youth Aliyah quota. Through participation in Hadassah women socialized and learned about Zionist ideology. Even more important, donations generated from supply showers, sewing circles, clothing drives, car raffles, fashion shows, dinners and luncheons contributed to National Hadassah's medical and social work, assimilating new arrivals into Israeli life.

On a global level, Zionism was part of the Eastern European Jewish migrations. Though active societies dotted the globe, the Zionist movement reached full maturation during the immediate pre and post-World War II years when the relevancy of its message remained largely unquestioned. Salt Lake City's Zionist work placed the city's Jewish community within an international web of activity. Hadassah women engaged in countless humanitarian projects; their contributions to Youth Aliyah helped children from European and Middle Eastern communities find new lives in Israel. Community leaders like Louis Zucker maintained close contact with national Zionist organizations, nurturing

a sense of Jewish identity and community. Monetary contributions committed givers to a cause, in the process broadening and enhancing their world view. Finally, international figures bolstered pride in the Jewish state and represented a truly transnational effort and movement.

It is hoped that by focusing on Salt Lake City's Jewish community, this thesis contributes to the current body of literature on both Jewish settlement in the West and local Zionist activity, stimulating additional research in these areas. Future scholarship might focus on intricate Mormon-Jewish relationships and the activities of key state and community leaders like Simon Bamberger, Louis Marcus, Louis Zucker and others. Any understanding of Salt Lake's economic, educational, and cultural world would be enhanced by detailing Jewish contributions. In addition, if Zionism's impact on American Jewish life is to be fully comprehended, attention must be paid to local-level Zionist involvement. Comparisons between Salt Lake City Zionism and the activities of other Jewish communities comparable in size and regional location would be well worth investigating.

One parting word: history is a very messy business. "Each age, it is found, must write their own books," Emerson wisely expressed, if not only to correct the inaccuracies of previous periods than to lend added meaning to the human mosaic.[62] If "Zionism in Zion" attracts any scholarly scrutiny, it will have fulfilled its purpose.

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[62]Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Selections from Ralph Waldo Emerson: An Organic Anthology,* ed. Stephen E. Whicher (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1957), 67.

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